

# PHILIP MORRIS

INCORPORATED

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HUGH CULLMAN  
CHAIRMAN  
PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

Dear Fellow Employee:

The Philip Morris USA Tobacco Action Program (TAP) is our Company's vehicle for participating in the Tobacco Action Network (TAN), the organization that has brought together all elements of the United States tobacco family in support of freedom of choice on tobacco issues. TAP, launched in 1978, lends additional support by keeping Philip Morris employees current on issues affecting our industry and encourages involvement in the political process.

A basic component of TAP is the Tobacco Action Program manual. It was developed to provide Philip Morris employees and their spouses essential information about the issues affecting smoking and the use of tobacco. By also suggesting ways in which we can make our voices heard by lawmakers, the media and the general public, the TAP manual will help you to stand tall in support of our industry.

This is the second edition of the TAP manual. New information has been added; existing material has been updated; information no longer current has been deleted. Many of the revisions are the result of input from TAP volunteers who have been using this manual to respond to questions and to help educate people outside our industry.

Our Public Affairs Department will continue to provide you with an ongoing flow of information through the TAPGRAM, a periodic newsletter that keeps you posted on recent political developments important to members of the Philip Morris family, and through additional updated material you can add to this manual.

But for TAP to work, we need your help. If you see, hear, or read anything that you think is of interest and/or importance to our industry, send it to us. To make it easy for you to do this, we have included five postage-paid envelopes in the back of this manual.

Thank you for your interest. We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,



Hugh Cullman

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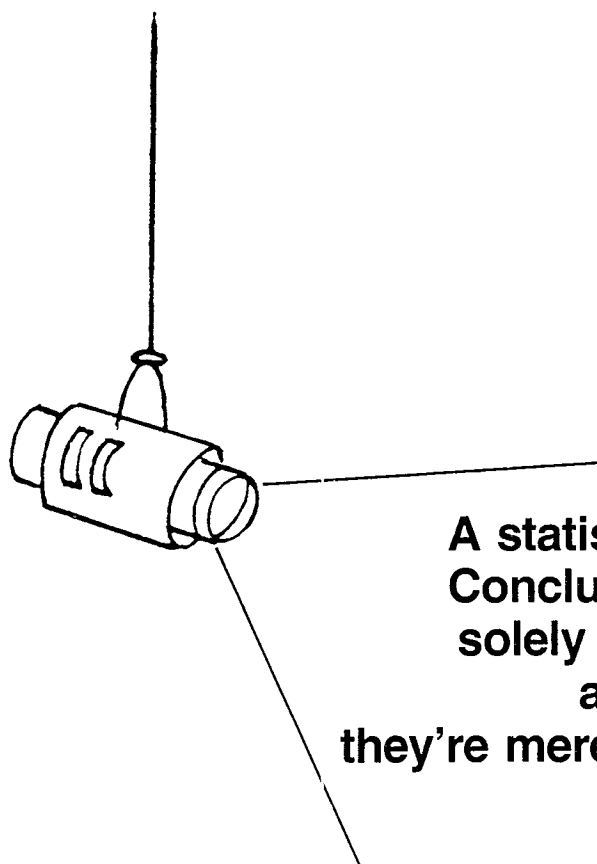
Philip Morris recognizes that there are differences of opinion concerning the use of tobacco and that charges against tobacco are widely publicized while less attention is given to differing views. This manual is presented to employees of PM USA in the belief that full, free, and informed discussion of these issues is in the public interest and in the conviction that the smoking-and-health controversy must be resolved by scientific research.

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## About this manual

This manual has been developed in such a way as to make it simple to update each of the sections. The page numbering scheme may already be familiar to you. The first digit indicates either Section 1 or 2. The next digit indicates the chapter within that section, and the third digit, the page within the chapter. Example: 1-2-3 is the third page of the second chapter in Section 1.

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## Introduction

### Action Points (✓)

- ✓ The basic causes of cancer and heart disease still elude medical scientists.
- ✓ Despite the publication of two Surgeon General Reports, one in 1964 and one in 1979, the case against smoking remains an open one. Allegations linking cigarette smoking to various diseases are based largely on statistical associations.
- ✓ Many scientists and researchers have raised questions about the alleged link between cigarette smoking and various diseases. These are significant questions that have never been resolved.
- ✓ If smoking does cause cancer, as the antis say, then why, after years of intensive research, has it not been shown how this occurs? And why has no ingredient as found in tobacco smoke been identified as the causal factor?
- ✓ Since 1954, the U.S. tobacco industry has spent over \$80 million in grants for independent research to scientists in an effort to try to find answers to the unresolved questions concerning smoking and health. In recent years, this amount far exceeds that spent by all the major so-called voluntary health organizations combined.

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## Introduction

For years our industry has been under attack by groups who make their goals very plain:

- To make smoking socially unacceptable for millions of Americans.
- To legislate the cigarette industry out of business through higher taxes and by restricting the advertising, sale, and use of tobacco products.

As an industry, we've been far less vocal than our antismoking opponents. This continued silence has, in fact, tended to support the antismoking lobby in their efforts to portray their cause as prevention of physical harm to both the smoker and nonsmoker. Only when another side of the story is told, when the misconceptions and inaccuracies are corrected, will the public have a clearer perspective on the controversies that surround the use of tobacco. This manual is a first step in providing you with the information you need to begin telling that story.

### Smoking and health: why the controversy continues

The 1964 and 1979 Surgeon General Reports alleged that cigarette smoking was linked to a number of diseases including those of the heart and lung. Those opposed to smoking were quick to use these opinions to charge cigarettes with direct responsibility for the cause of these illnesses, although the fact remains that *no one knows the causes of cancer and heart disease*.

**Dr. A. R. Feinstein**, writing in the *Cecil-Loeb Textbook of Medicine*, Beeson, P. B. & W. McDermott, Eds., W. B. Saunders Co. (Philadelphia, 1975) said:

*No single cause for lung cancer has been identified . . . The many conflicting claims and counterclaims about the cause of lung cancer will probably not be resolved until prolonged, well-designed clinical epidemiologic studies can be conducted.*

**Dr. Helmut Schievelbein**, Professor, Department of Preventive Medicine, University of Munich, in 1973, wrote:

*It goes without saying that speculations, and conclusions based on speculations, have no room in a scientific report. It appears necessary to say this, because rarely has there been more speculation in any area of medicine than in that of "smoking and health."*

The antismoking forces refuse to face up to these realities. Instead, they continue to spread the myth that the case against smoking is closed. Period. They proceed with their multimillion-dollar programs against smokers.

### The case against smoking rests primarily on statistical associations

Smoking may or may not cause certain diseases. We still don't know. Despite claims that a causal relationship between smoking and the development of certain diseases has been proven, the case against cigarette smoking rests primarily on statistical associations. But what are statistical associations?



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## What is a statistic?

Perhaps the clearest explanation is given in the following example. Some time ago, certain critics contended that statistics prove American medicine is inferior to that practiced in Europe. In defending his colleague physicians, an official of the American Medical Association had this to say:

*A statistic is a fact—the result of a survey—and that is all it is. Conjectures made on such a statistic are not facts. They are conjectures. Statistics pose questions. They don't answer them. They are a complement, not a substitute for trained intellect and common sense.*

The same holds true for opinions based on smoking-and-health statistics. They should not be accepted as substitutes for the truth. The 1964 Advisory Committee Report to the Surgeon General conceded that: "Statistical methods cannot establish proof of a causal relationship in an association. The causal significance of an association is a matter of judgment which goes beyond any statement of statistical probability."

The 1979 Surgeon General's Report goes further: "Correlation is not synonymous with causation."

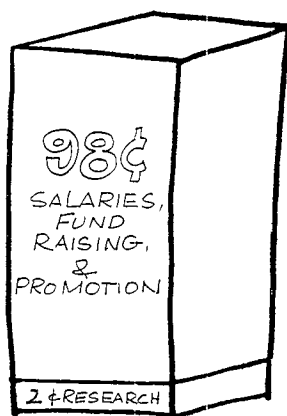
And, finally, this quote from **Richard J. Hickey**, with the Department of Statistics, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania on January 7, 1979:

*If all the epidemiological studies on smoking and health that have misused statistics or other science were rejected, the remaining body of knowledge might be rather small.*

The controversy itself has been sparked partially because there are still many questions that have never been resolved. *If smoking does cause cancer, as the antis say, then why, after years of intensive research, has it not been shown how this occurs? And why has no ingredient as found in smoke been identified as the causal factor?*

For the past quarter century, the tobacco industry has been dedicated to resolving this controversy through scientific research.

To that end, the industry has supported totally independent investigations with completely nonrestrictive funding. To date, that commitment in this country alone exceeds \$80 million in grants to hundreds of researchers in medical schools, hospitals and other scientific institutions. Through the Council for Tobacco Research, over \$52 million has been awarded to nearly 400 in-



How the ALA spends  
its Christmas Seal dollar

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investigators in over 250 institutions since 1954. *In fact, the tobacco industry's commitment to funding research in recent years exceeds that of all the major voluntary health organizations combined.* These organizations, including the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, and the American Lung Association, spend the greater part of their massive budgets on salaries, fund raising, and propaganda, and only a small percentage on actual research.

**Sidney Wolfe, M.D.**, Director of Public Citizen Health Research Group, October 1978:

*Too much of the money collected for diseases goes to highly paid executives at the top who contribute little to eradicating it. Whether it's cancer, heart, kidney, muscular dystrophy, etc., subtract salaries, amounts paid for advertising and raising funds, traveling and entertainment and what kind of bite are you taking out of the primary objective?*

### Some additional unresolved questions

1. To what extent is our genetic background involved in the causation of cancer and other diseases?

**Dr. H.J. Eysenck**, with the Department of Psychology at the University of London wrote in 1965:

*... the evidence on the whole tends to support the view that constitutional [genetic] factors in general, and personality factors in particular, are correlated with proneness to cancer.*

**Dr. Carl Seltzer** of Harvard University testified before a Congressional committee in 1969:

*That there is a strong genetic factor in the etiology [cause] of coronary heart disease is well accepted, and there is a growing body of evidence that smokers as a group differentiate themselves from nonsmokers in a large variety of biological ways including "style of life." If smokers develop coronary heart disease because they are different kinds of people than nonsmokers, more vulnerable constitutional types, this could well explain the statistical association of excess heart disease among cigarette smokers.*

2. What effect, if any, does stress play in the development of cancer?

According to cancer researchers, **Drs. O. Carl Simonton and Stephanie Matthews Simonton**, attitude, not food or environment or genes, is the final deciding factor in who gets cancer and who doesn't. People who "give up" get cancer. In an interview reported in the *Wichita Eagle Beacon* (May 20, 1978), the two researchers stated that cigarettes, sweeteners, and a whole host of other "cancer villains" have been the victims of cancer research that has sought to place the blame for cancer on external instead of internal causes.

*Theoretically, if people learn early in life to deal with stress, cancer can be prevented.*



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3. Why do nonsmokers—people who have never smoked a cigarette in their lives—develop the same diseases that are alleged to be caused by smoking? And why are those diseases seen in animals?

**Dr. H. R. Fisher**, Professor of Pathology at the University of Southern California School of Medicine in a statement submitted to a Congressional committee, in 1969, said:

*If cigarettes were the cause of lung cancer, I believe we would have an incidence many times greater than we do now and would not encounter the disease in nonsmokers.*

4. What occupational exposures need to be considered?

**Theodor Sterling**, a research professor who is knowledgeable about occupational hazards, has asked, "Does smoking kill workers or working kill smokers?"

5. Are disease patterns related to geography or nationality?

The TV crew that went to Russia to produce the commercial featuring a 114-year-old mother and her 83-year-old son reported that these Soviet Georgians not only eat yogurt, they regularly drink vodka and smoke cigarettes.

*The People's Almanac* #2, by **David Wallechinsky** and **Irving Wallace**, relates the story of a 128-year-old native of Ecuador who regularly consumed, by his own admission, 40 to 60 cigarettes a day along with several shots of potent home-brewed rum. Moderate climate, combined with air that is virtually unpolluted and a peculiarly unhurried attitude toward life are among the reasons given by the authors to help explain the longevity of these people.

6. To what extent does environmental pollution such as exhaust generated by motor vehicles play a role in causing cancer?

**Stephen M. Brown** and associate members of the Epidemiology Research Unit at the University of California's School of Public Health stated in 1975:

*The 1974 fuel crisis was a natural experiment. It presented the opportunity to test the hypothesis that a decrease in vehicular exhaust fumes would have a beneficial effect on health . . .*

*Dramatic decreases were noted in death rates for several major categories of disease . . . . The disease showing the greatest relative change was chronic lung disease.*

These unresolved questions and inconsistencies are largely ignored by the media—medical publications as well as the general press—and are virtually unknown to general practitioners.

### Smoking in public places

In recent years, the attacks of the antismoking lobby have been expanded to include claims that the normal nonsmoker's health is somehow adversely affected by someone else's tobacco smoke. This is seriously disputed by respected researchers, many of whom are well known for their opposition to smoking.



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The "antis" have continued their attacks on cigarettes as a "cause" of harm to the smoker. In addition, they now voice their concern for the nonsmoker. This has led to:

- A big increase in proposals restricting smoking in public places.
- A movement to ban smoking on airplanes.
- Calls for eliminating one of the federal government's most successful and least expensive farm loan programs—the tobacco price stabilization program.
- Campaigns sponsored by the federal government and by health associations using scare tactics to persuade people not to smoke.
- Calls for banning all cigarette advertising.
- Higher cigarette taxes in many states.

These are serious problems for the tobacco industry—farmers, manufacturing people, distributors, sales people, vendors, retailers, and others. In addition, we face another problem: there are 78,000 units of government in this country—from the U.S. Congress to the local town council. Under pressure from the antis, all are capable of passing laws, regulations, and ordinances to segregate our nation into two societies—smokers and nonsmokers, separate and unequal.

Such developments were bound to have an effect on smokers' attitudes. In recent years, a number of groups have been formed around the country that seek to protect the rights of smokers. The formation of groups such as PUFF (People United to Fight Fanatics) and Smokers United, Inc. are encouraging developments, but if those of us who make a living from tobacco are to preserve our livelihoods, it's up to *us* to lead in defending our own interests.

Most of you are probably somewhat familiar with the work of the Tobacco Institute and the Tobacco Tax Council. These organizations are supported by major cigarette manufacturers and, among other things, represent the interests of the industry on the smoking controversy and fairness in taxation.

In 1978, the major cigarette manufacturers, working in conjunction with our industry representatives, the TI and the TTC, formed a nationwide legislative support system called the Tobacco Action Network (TAN). By uniting the entire U.S. tobacco family—from grower to retailer—TAN is enabling the industry to speak with one united voice in support of freedom of choice on matters affecting the use of tobacco.

Philip Morris fully supports the concepts and goals of TAN (see Chapter 2-5). We hope that after reading this manual, you'll want to join the thousands of other Philip Morris employees and spouses who have volunteered to become part of TAP-TAN. Knowing, however, that participation must be based on full understanding, we've designed the PM USA Tobacco Action Program to help explain the issues and to also suggest some of the ways an individual might get involved in the political process.

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This manual is an important part of the program.

**The program focuses on two main areas:**

- **Section 1—The issues**
- **Section 2—Your involvement**

**Section 1, The issues**, starts with the story of tobacco, from its use by the Indians to its rapid spread to many different cultures around the world. From the very beginning, controversy has been linked with the use of tobacco. Next, we look at the role of government in this controversy. We discuss the question, "Does government have the right to legislate in matters involving interpersonal behavior?"

We then go on to discuss the economic importance of tobacco. We cover tobacco's impact on employment in all phases of the industry. And we cover how the industry and its consumers pay large sums in taxes to maintain government at all levels and improve the quality of life for all Americans.

Another chapter in this section offers some possible answers to a still unresolved question: Why do people smoke? The final two chapters deal with the issue of tobacco smoke in the air and its relationship with the current controversy about smoking in public places.

**Section 2, Your involvement** begins with that very important subject: registering to vote, the first step in making your voice heard by the people who write the laws that affect your job and your personal life.

Philip Morris hopes many of its employees will take active roles in telling our side of the story to the public. Even more basic, however, is the involvement of our employees in the political process where they live. As we've mentioned, this involvement begins with registering to vote. Section 2 goes beyond that to a discussion of more detailed principles and methods to help you exercise your rights as a citizen.

Another chapter explains how you can help to educate the public by writing letters to the editor and by requesting speakers, films, and materials through the Public Affairs Department.

Still another chapter gives you information about political participation in your state.

The final chapter goes on to explain how the Tobacco Action Network (TAN) will work on the national and state levels, and how the PM USA Public Affairs Department will support and coordinate the participation of our employees in TAN activities.

Sections 1 and 2 complement one another. The chapters under *The issues* provide you with a basic understanding of the issues that affect our industry and your job, and give you the information you need to tell our story. Each issues chapter is introduced by a series of Action Points (✓), the kind of information you can use when you want to make your voice heard. The chapters under *Your involvement* show you how to tell that story through a variety of activities. For example: suppose you'd like to respond to an antitobacco editorial. That's an educate-the-public kind of thing, so you'd turn to that chapter for tips on how to write a letter to the editor. You'd then refer to the appropriate chapter in Section 1 to pick up the action points you want to make in your letter.

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This manual is only an introduction to TAP. You'll be receiving additional information on an ongoing basis. This will include issues of the PM USA *TAPGRAM*, a periodic newsletter that focuses on political developments important to Philip Morris employees and the tobacco industry. You'll also be getting issues of the Tobacco Institute's bimonthly publication, *The Tobacco Observer*. And those of you who decide to join the TAP-TAN effort will be placed on the mailing list to receive issues of both state and national TAN update reports and other TAN publications.



PREPARED BY THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, PM USA

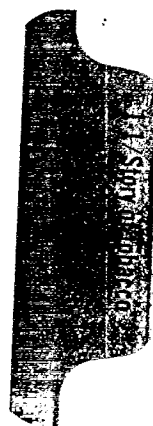
On a periodic basis, you'll also get additional material to add to the basic information in the *TAP Manual*.

**Your participation in this program will be the key to its success**

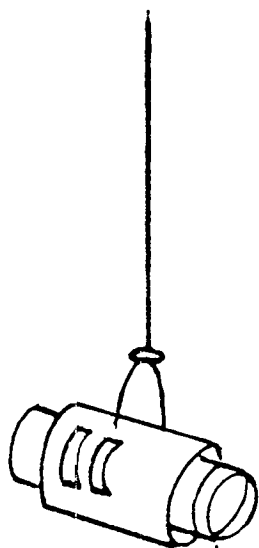
Use the return-mail envelopes in Section 2 to send us news and requests for more information. Perhaps even more important: use those envelopes to send us your comments, your suggestions, your criticism. The only way we can measure the effectiveness of this program—and make it better serve the needs of the Philip Morris family—is for us to hear from you. We'll try to respond to all questions and requests.

For additional information, refer to *Publications Order Form* at the back of Chapter 2-3, or write PM USA Public Affairs Department.

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**People have enjoyed tobacco  
for over 400 years—  
Tobacco has been under attack  
for over 400 years—  
Still people continue  
to enjoy smoking.**

**Without tobacco,  
America might still be  
a British colony!**

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## 1-1/The Story of Tobacco— Action Points (✓)

- ✓ America's roots are in tobacco soil. It was our first agriculture, our first industry, and our first export. It even served as currency for a time and played a key role in helping this country win its independence from England.
- ✓ Tobacco has always had a symbolic or ritual role in times of war and in settling disputes. Military commanders have long recognized the importance of tobacco in maintaining the morale of fighting men. When George Washington's army suffered severe defeats in 1776, he appealed for aid: "*I say, if you can't send money, send tobacco.*"
- ✓ From 1604 to the present, the use of tobacco has been under almost constant attack. Beginning with the pamphlet, "A Counterblaste to Tobacco," by James I of England, and continuing through to the current HEW antismoking campaign, these attacks have not succeeded in stopping people from enjoying the pleasures of smoking.
- ✓ Throughout the history of tobacco, there have been those who would make unproved charges against the practice of smoking. Smoking has been accused of causing everything from an inability to think, loss of memory and energy, insanity, suicidal mania, softening of the brain, to impotency, tuberculosis, and gangrene of the foot.
- ✓ The latest charge against tobacco is that tobacco smoke causes disease in nonsmokers. Despite numerous medical studies, including those conducted by the federal government and by private researchers, this has never been proven.

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## 1-1/The story of tobacco



Engraving by T. DeBry

Christopher Columbus and his men were the first Europeans to see tobacco. When he and his crew landed in the West Indies in 1492, they met Indians who carried rolls of dried leaves. The Europeans were amazed when the Indians set fire to the rolls and then "drank the smoke." Other Indians "drank the smoke" from pipes in which they burned the same dried leaves.

### Tobacco 1,000 years ago

Archaeologists digging into the remains of past civilizations in North and South America have found convincing evidence that the natives had been smoking tobacco for at least 1,000 years before Columbus set foot in the New World.

How tobacco smoking actually began remains a mystery. Archaeologists are reasonably certain, however, that the first use of the plant was by priests or religious leaders of the different peoples of the Americas. In the beginning, tobacco was probably employed for magic or rituals that were an important part of the lives of these people.

The plant itself and the act of smoking were major factors in the mythology and folklore that may still exist in some parts of Central and South America.



Engraving by T. DeBry

### Tobacco's spread to the Old World

Tobacco entered Western Europe and then spread eastward. The point of entry into Europe was probably Holland—a Spanish possession until 1590.

Arents Tobacco Collection, N.Y. Public Library



Tobacco as a cure-all



Tobacco for pleasure

The explorer, Andre Thevat, brought tobacco from Brazil to his native France in 1556 or 1557, but his place in history was overshadowed by his fellow countryman, Jean Nicot. Nicot was serving as France's ambassador to Portugal when he sent some tobacco from Lisbon to the French court in 1561. He described it as a cure-all for all kinds of ailments. Quite unknowingly, Nicot ensured that his name would occupy a prominent place in the history of tobacco—the scientific name of tobacco is *Nicotiana*. In the 19th century, chemists used the word "nicotine" to designate the alkaloid in tobacco leaves.

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Western Europeans, at first, used tobacco mostly as a medicine. Physicians of the time prescribed it in different forms for a host of major and minor ailments and diseases. Indeed, during the Great Plague that devastated England in 1664-1666, school-children were given a pipeful of tobacco each day as preventive medicine to ward off the great plague. These doctors, ignorant by today's standards, mistakenly believed that the plant had been used as a potent cure-all by the American Indians.

Outside Europe—in Turkey, the Far East, Africa, the Americas—tobacco was smoked mainly for pleasure, but the medical men of Europe sought to discourage tobacco smoking as a pleasurable activity. They had a selfish reason: they wanted to keep tobacco to themselves as a means of healing the sick. The medical use of tobacco gradually declined, however, and had virtually vanished by the mid-1700s. Meanwhile, the smoking of tobacco for enjoyment continued to spread throughout continental Europe and the rest of the world.

### Antismoking attacks begin

Almost from the beginning, there were antismoking crusaders—a few well intentioned, many more bent on denying others pleasure—who fought the personal, recreational use of tobacco. They said it was an evil custom started by far-off heathens and used by them in pagan ceremonies offensive to godfearing Christians. Indeed, de Jerez, who may have been the first European to smoke tobacco, was seized by the Spanish Inquisition as he smoked while strolling in his native village. He was thrown in jail. Various religious groups have also periodically attacked tobacco for its alleged association with moral weakness.

Some rulers in a number of European and Far Eastern countries imposed restrictions of various kinds on tobacco—not only on smoking, but on growing and importing as well. Certain monarchs in Russia, Turkey, Persia, and India put people to death for smoking. Many of the eastern rulers were opposed to tobacco because it had been introduced by foreigners, and, more important, because they thought it lessened sexual desire and even caused sterility.

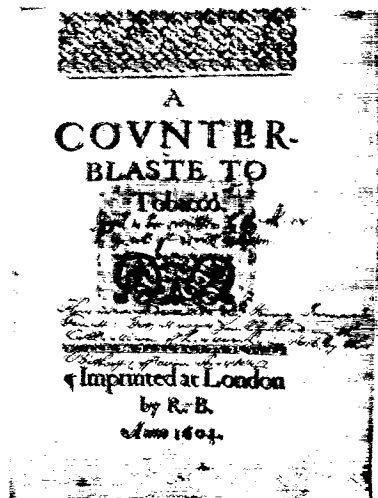
Then came the attacks against tobacco on health grounds. In purpose and intensity these were somewhat similar to the many antismoking claims of the present time. Perhaps the best known of the many antitobacco pamphlets of those earlier days was one written anonymously by King James I of England in 1604. Titled "A Counterblaste to Tobacco," the pamphlet described smoking as: "... a custome lothsome to the Eye, hateful to the Nose, harmful to the Braine, dangerous to the Lungs, in the black stinking Fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian Smoke of the Pit that is bottomless." The King threatened to banish doctors who smoked to the "Land of the Red Indians."

And in the same period, a physician named Roger Marbecke, in a work entitled "A Defence of Tobacco," recommended smoking in moderation as beneficial.

Thus, one scholar, noting the divergent views, labeled them "the beginning of the tobacco controversy."

### Tobacco's early economic impact

The profit to be had from American tobacco helped overcome King James's personal dislike for its use. More than just affecting England's profits, however,



Arents Tobacco Collection, N.Y. Public Library

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tobacco played an important role in helping its new settlements to prosper in America. The survival of Jamestown is generally credited to John Rolfe, who secured tobacco seeds from the early Spanish colonies and laid the foundation for Virginia's economic development.

Tobacco was held in such high regard in America that for over a century it was used in place of money in Virginia and several other colonies. (By 1621, prices on most things in Virginia were set in terms of tobacco. A man could acquire a wife from England for only 120 pounds of good leaf, but he had to pay 200 pounds of tobacco leaf to the local preacher to marry her!)



John Rolfe

Tobacco also played an important role in the Revolutionary War. The Continental Congress was able to get a desperately needed loan of 2 million livres from France by offering 5 million pounds of Virginia's best tobacco as security. Without tobacco, it's quite likely that the colonies would have been unable to finance their struggle for independence.

(To come up to our present century, we should note that, until the start of personal income taxes, tobacco was the chief single support of the federal government. Tobacco taxes accounted for over a fifth of total U.S. revenue in the years leading up to World War I.)



Capitol Historical Society

### Attacks in the 1800s

In 1857, *The Lancet*, a distinguished British medical journal, carried in its pages for several weeks a debate by physicians on the "Tobacco Question." Among the charges listed were that tobacco caused inability to think, loss of memory and energy, insanity, suicidal mania, softening of the brain, impotency (both moral and physical), and a variety of nervous, respiratory, circulatory, and digestive disorders.

## THE LANCET.

A Journal of British and Foreign Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Physiology, Chemistry, Pharmacology, Public Health, and News.

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**One writer in The Lancet said:**

*It impairs the vigour and energy of the British people and causes them to sink in the scale of nations; it has caused the governmental evils of Turkey; it ruins young men; pauperizes working men; counterworks the ministers of religion; and renders old women of Ireland troublesome to the dispensary doctors.*

**Another writer in The Lancet said:**

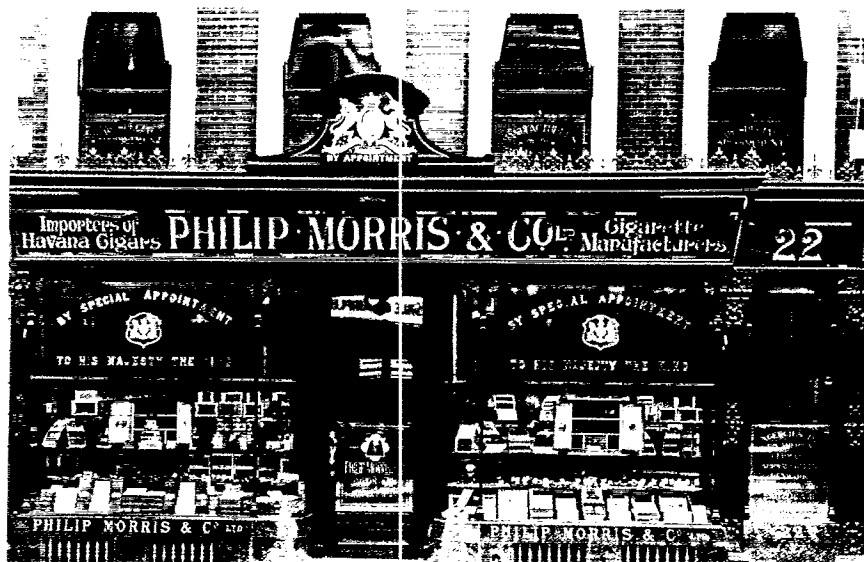
*The accusers are arguing against the effects of the abuse, and not the use of tobacco: that every gift under heaven may, by the perversity [perversity] of man, be turned from a blessing to a curse; that the use of tobacco is widely spread, more widely than any one custom, form of worship, or religious belief, and that therefore it must have some good or at least pleasurable effects; that if its evil effects were so dreadful as stated the human race would have ceased to exist.*

**Evolution of the modern cigarette**

From 1492 to about 1910, tobacco was commonly smoked in cigars and pipes, inhaled as snuff, and chewed. Leaf-wrapped cigarettes—miniature cigars—were known to the American Indians before Columbus landed. During the Crimean War, Russian soldiers were smoking a new kind of cigarette—one with a paper wrapper. When British soldiers returned from that war in the 1850s, they brought back these paper-wrapped “Russian-mode” cigarettes. They were immediately accepted by the public.



Culver Pictures, Inc.



Philip Morris, an early tobacconist in London, imported skilled cigarette rollers from Egypt to produce his cigarettes. The early cigarette makers in America also imported skilled rollers. While an expert roller could produce between 15,000 and 18,000 cigarettes a week, that rate of production was not high

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enough to make cigarettes available to the general public. Then came the breakthrough: James Bonsack invented a cigarette machine that in 1883 was producing 120,000 good cigarettes a day—40 times the production of the most expert rollers. The cost of a pack of cigarettes was now within the reach of the general public.

Cigarette production increased from under 20 million in 1865 to over one billion annually by 1885. It was not until the first quarter of the 20th century, however, that the cigarette became the most popular way of using tobacco.

One important factor in making the cigarette more popular was the development of a new type of tobacco—known variously as “bright,” “flue-cured,” or “Virginia.” This type of tobacco, also referred to as “mild,” supplied the smooth, mild flavor that made cigarette smoking popular throughout the world.

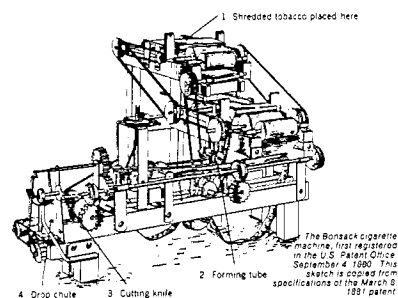
### Tobacco in times of war



Robert K. Heimann. Tobacco & Americans

From the beginning, tobacco has had a symbolic role during times of war—and peace. It still does. We're all familiar with the Indians' use of the peace pipe when settling a dispute. Passing the peace pipe was a gesture of friendship and good will. Today, in many parts of the world, cigarettes are offered along with tea or coffee before the start of peace or trade negotiations. In the Philippines and in Pakistan, this practice even takes place during marriage negotiations.

The soldier smokes a cigarette before a battle, a wounded soldier asks for a cigarette, a victorious commander offers his captive a cigarette. In recent years, the U.S. has often had to board foreign fishing vessels suspected of violating U.S. coastal waters. It's interesting to note that the U.S. Coast Guard advises its officers to offer cigarettes to the captains of these boats as a gesture of peace (*N.Y. Times Magazine*, March 7, 1976).



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Military leaders throughout history have recognized the importance of tobacco to the maintenance of morale in times of war.

Some examples:



When George Washington's army suffered severe defeats in 1776, he appealed for aid: "I say, if you can't send money, send tobacco."



In World War I, General Pershing, commander of the American forces in France, made a clear request: "You asked me what we need to win this war. I answer tobacco as much as bullets!"



In World War II, workers in an American aircraft factory donated \$10,000 for the war effort. They cabled General MacArthur in the South Pacific as to what his troops needed most. He replied: "The cigarettes which, of all personal comforts, are the most difficult to obtain here."

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## Attacks on cigarettes continue

Earlier bans on the use of tobacco were gradually replaced by taxes—taxes whose main purpose was to regulate personal habits that offended certain moral or religious beliefs. Not until the Civil War was the first “nonpunishing” tax put on tobacco—an 1862 tax to raise funds for military operations.

By the late 1800s, the attack on smoking had become largely a matter of crusading by reformist groups. Carry Nation's temperance movement attacked smoking as well as alcohol. Children were organized to sing antismoking songs, carry banners, parade, and preach sermons to their elders. Public figures such as boxing champion John L. Sullivan and inventor Thomas Edison spoke out publicly against cigarette smoking.

During the first two decades of this century, it was widely believed that cigarette smoking increased the chances of contracting tuberculosis. Such unsupported beliefs, when added to the antismoking statements of famous people, may have had a strong influence on lawmakers:

- New Hampshire, 1901: it was declared illegal for “any person, firm, or corporation to make, sell or keep for sale any form of cigarette.”
- Illinois, 1907: the manufacture, sale or gift of a cigarette was made punishable by a fine of up to \$100 or a jail term of up to 30 days.

By 1921, the year after alcohol prohibition, 14 states had enacted cigarette prohibition and 92 anticigarette bills were under consideration in 28 state legislatures. In spite of these and other restrictive state laws, cigarette use continued to rise. People, as always, continued to enjoy tobacco. (All such laws, except those governing sales to minors, were repealed by 1927.)

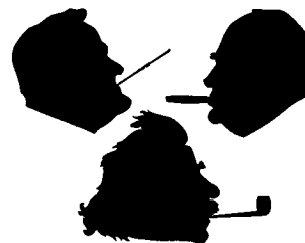
## A brief lull in the attacks: the 1930s and 1940s

During the period between World War I and World War II, cigarette smoking not only grew in popularity but also gained a great degree of social acceptability. Public figures such as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Albert Einstein, and Winston Churchill were frequently seen smoking in public. Also, many well-known actors and actresses used cigarettes as a means of enhancing the mood of a scene.

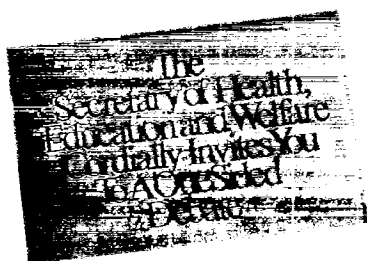
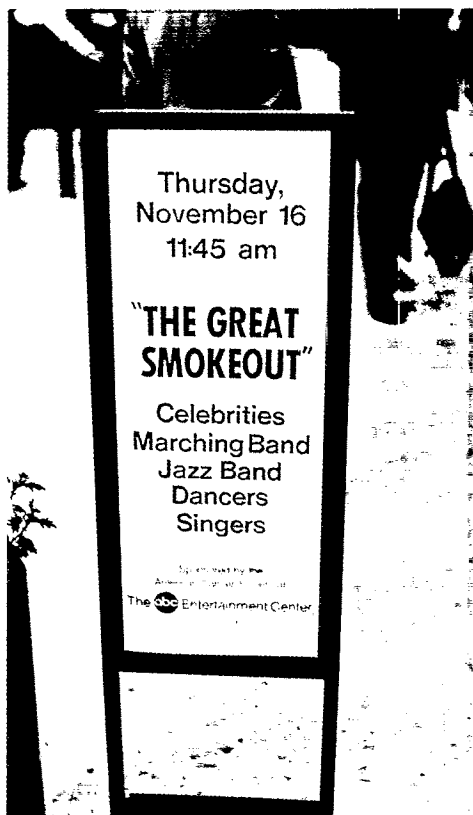
## Recent and current attacks on cigarettes

New attacks began to appear, however. Questions concerning the relationship between cigarette smoking and health were raised again during the 1950s. Also, during this period, anticigarette articles began to appear in *Fleader's Digest*.

In 1964, however, when the report of an Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General was issued, massive attacks began in earnest. Certain links between smoking and various diseases were claimed (see Introduction). These claims were readily accepted by a public that had been given only one side of the story.



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### Following on the heels of the report:

- Several states began a spiraling pattern of cigarette tax increases—"justified" in part by a desire to discourage smoking.
- Cigarette commercials disappeared from radio and TV on January 2, 1971, as a result of Congressional passage of the Public Health Cigarette Act of 1969. This act banned all cigarette advertising in the broadcast media.
- Health warning notices were made mandatory for all cigarette packs, cartons, and advertisements.

Since 1971 and continuing to the present, the attacks on tobacco have undergone a shift in emphasis. The attacks in the 1960s were based on the alleged effects of tobacco smoking on the *smoker*. The most recent attacks are based on the alleged harmful effects of tobacco smoke on the *nonsmoker*. The aim is to discourage the use of tobacco products by making smoking socially unacceptable.

### The HEW antismoking campaign

In January 1978, Joseph Califano, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, announced that his agency would wage "*the most vigorous and hard-hitting program against smoking that this country has ever had.*" The program, which costs taxpayers an estimated \$30 million annually, and which established a new Office on Smoking and Health, is yet another attempt by the government to intensify the propaganda campaign against smoking.

A major feature of the HEW antismoking crusade was the use of "media events" to publicize attacks against the use of tobacco.

These have included:

- Support of annual "Great American Smokeouts" in which public pressure is put on smokers to quit.
- Unfounded charges against the cigarette manufacturers' advertising and promotional policies.
- The publication of another Surgeon General's Report on Smoking and Health in January, 1979. This 1200-page document contains much material that had been previously released by HEW since the publication of the 1964 report. It conveniently ignores the results of scientific studies that raise questions about a causal relationship between smoking and various human ailments. Produced in great secrecy and released in such a way as to maximize media attention, this latest report, like the first report, still fails to establish scientifically that cigarettes "cause" any disease.

For additional information, refer to ***Publications Order Form*** at the back of Chapter 2-3, or write PM USA Public Affairs Department.

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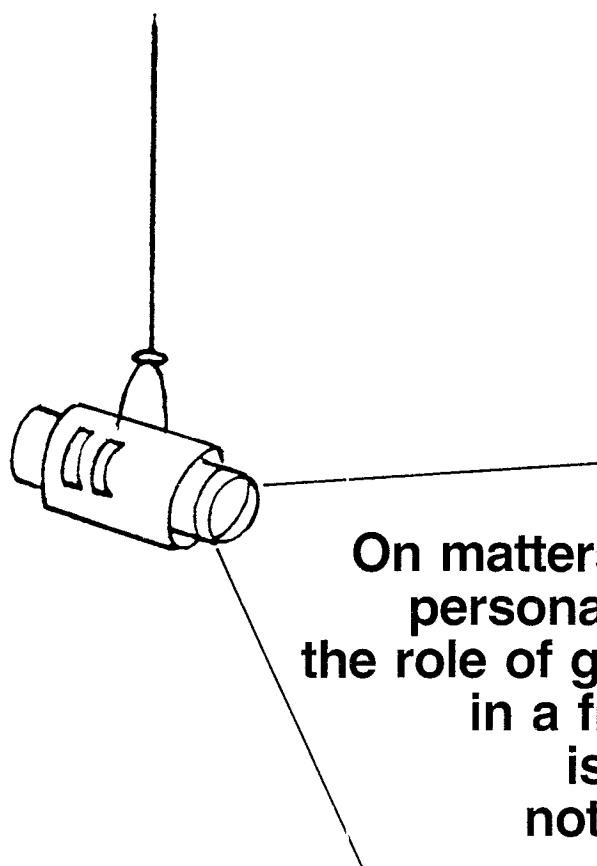
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-2/Tobacco and  
the government

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**On matters involving  
personal behavior,  
the role of government  
in a free society  
is to *inform*,  
not to *dictate*.**

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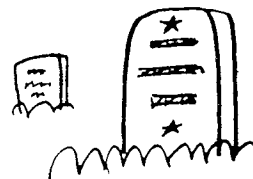
## 1-2/Tobacco and the Government— Action Points (✓)

- ✓ It's an American belief that the adult individual should be allowed to decide what's right for him or her.
- ✓ Few matters have received as much widespread publicity as the claims against cigarette smoking. One would almost have had to have been a "cave dweller" not to have heard about the Surgeon General's warning. Still, there are some within the government who feel a need to change people's behavior.
- ✓ The reactions by the antismoking establishment to a report published by a government researcher that differed with preconceived antismoking attitudes within the government and the so-called voluntary health organizations demonstrates that the attacks against smoking can be blindly vindictive.
- ✓ More and more lawmakers are beginning to call for a halt to the enactment of nuisance-type legislation such as laws that either ban or restrict smoking in public places.
- ✓ On November 7, 1978, nearly 3.7 million voters in California, by defeating an antismoking ballot measure known as Proposition 5, voiced their rejection of "big brother" government and second-class treatment of smokers. The defeat of Proposition 5 was a significant victory for those who believe in freedom of choice on matters affecting personal and interpersonal behavior.

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## 1-2/Tobacco and the government

In some countries, the government has the final word on everything that happens to its citizens from cradle to grave. And those citizens roll with the



punches because they have little choice. By contrast, one of the pillars of our free society is that our forefathers had in mind a much more limited role for the federal government.

In most personal questions, our society reasonably leaves it up to the individual to determine answers for himself or herself—without force or pressure. The pleasures of good food, dancing, and theater—all of which were once condemned as vices—are now accepted as normal, sinless behavior. Even “vices” such as casino gambling and “playing the numbers” are now legally



sanctioned sources of revenue to state governments through state licensed gambling casinos and lotteries. Society permits people to fly airplanes, to climb mountains, and to ride bicycles on New York City streets. To some, these are highly dangerous activities. Swimmers, some of whom drown, swim at beaches; joggers are looked on with general approval and even envy, though it's known that some suffer heart attacks for their efforts.

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In an essay in the March 3, 1978, issue of *National Review*, the editors wrote:

*There is no good reason to single out smoking as a special target of national health reform [referring to the HEW initiative against smoking]—no reason, that is, except that, by some quirk of social and political fashion, smoking is presently thought to be as sinful as bicycle riding and jogging are thought to be virtuous.*

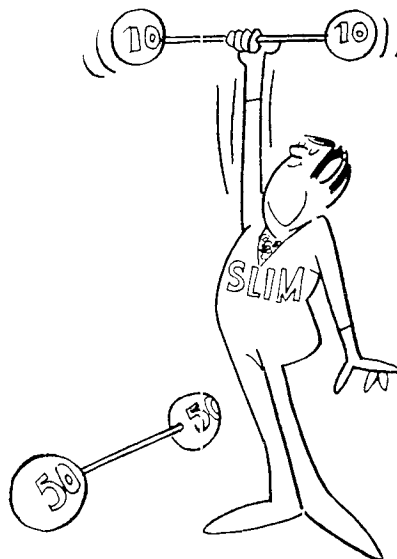
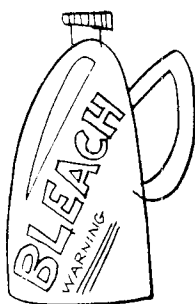
It's an American belief that the adult individual should be allowed to decide what's right for him or her. Individual freedoms are denied only when the larger interests of society are overwhelmingly more important. The costs of overriding individual rights should be carefully weighed. This is particularly true in the case of the smoking-and-health controversy.

Government no doubt has a responsibility to help protect the individual from those external health hazards from which he cannot protect himself. Poisonous additives or dangerous toys are examples. In these examples two things are involved: First, consumers cannot be expected to keep long lists of substances or items to be avoided in buying foods or toys. Second, substitutes will do as well.

Some items, such as household drain cleaners, cleaning fluids, insecticides, etc., contain known poisons, yet are sold in supermarkets. The government, satisfied that the public is fully aware of the dangers of misusing these products, permits their sale, and doesn't wage any scare campaigns against them. Smoking, however, is not judged by these reasonable standards.

The decision to smoke is only one of many personal decisions that may or may not have a bearing on health. Such things as exercise, diet, and the amount of sleep you get all have a statistical relationship to how long you'll live, and, in some cases, what illnesses you'll get. Yet no one would suggest that the government regulate your exercise, your diet, your sleep. At most, government should advise. Smoking belongs among these other personal acts, and here, too, the government should be limited to offering advice.

The possible health effects of smoking have been widely and publicly debated for years. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has had every



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opportunity to make known its official views on smoking. There's nothing much that can be told the average American about the alleged dangers of smoking that he doesn't already know.

### Government interference

Some government officials have demonstrated an eager willingness—and a great capacity—to interfere in matters affecting basic human rights.

In a 1976 letter to the Civil Aeronautics Board protesting a proposed ban on pipe and cigar smoking on commercial airlines, Representative Charles B. Rangel reminded the chairman:

*Ironically, yours is perhaps the only agency of government to maintain a policy which was discarded years ago in Birmingham, Alabama, at the start of the civil rights struggle.*

The government has also interfered by widely spreading onesided information about smoking and health. They've interfered by encouraging lawmakers on federal, state, and local levels to pass excessive taxes on cigarettes—taxes that place the greater burden on those least able to afford them. They've interfered by encouraging the passage of laws on when, where, and in what form a person can legally smoke.

### The "Gori Report"

In the summer of 1978, Dr. Gio Batta Gori, then deputy director of cancer prevention for the National Cancer Institute, released the results of a ten-year study on the effects of reduced "tar" and nicotine content in cigarettes. While not calling any cigarette "safe," Dr. Gori did point out that "we can now begin to talk about 'tolerable levels' of smoking from an overall public health standpoint."

Shocked at Gori's statement were certain officials of the federal government as well as executives of the private voluntary health organizations. Dr. Gori was severely criticized and, according to a former member of a working group advising Gori, he was "shelved . . . they couldn't fire him, but they have moved him out of the NCI . . ." Commenting on this were various members of the media:

*If a government researcher thinks he's discovered something positive about cigarette smoking, dare he say so?*

*Medical World News*  
September, 1979

*If there were any rationality left in this whole business of cigarettes and cancer, Dr. Gori's cheerful and sensible observations would have been received with equanimity and pleasure. But reason has fled the temples. The campaign against smoking has turned into a crusade, a jihad, a holy war.*

Syndicated columnist  
James J. Kilpatrick  
August 24, 1978

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Much also has been written and said in the media on the subject of the government's role in regulating personal behavior, particularly as it relates to the use of tobacco. Here are some examples:

**Commentary by Eric Sevareid, CBS Evening News,  
June 22, 1977:**

*It is one thing to protect helpless consumers from the harm in products, devices, and emissions imposed on them by remote and powerful industries; it is something else when government attempts, by regulation, to protect people from themselves. It's a fine line.*

**The Woodbridge, N.J. News Tribune, January 17, 1978:**

*It should not be the function of a government official to attempt to influence the daily living patterns of Americans. Such efforts are not only an intrusion into the private lives of individuals, they are uncalled for and dangerous as a procedure of government.*

**Syndicated columnist William F. Buckley, New York Post,  
August 13, 1977:**

*For heaven's sake keep the government out of the way. Let the airplanes, the restaurants, the steamships, the bus companies handle the problem . . . .*

**Another syndicated columnist, William Safire,  
The New York Times, May 16, 1974:**

*Once government gets its nose under the tent of social intercourse, there will be no privacy for anyone.*

**Editorial, Anderson, S.C. Independent, July 8, 1975:**

*Millions of Americans continue to demonstrate they resent efforts on the part of federal agents and private organizations to shove them around and clamp further shackles on their lives.*

**Governor James R. Thompson (R-ILL), in vetoing a statewide anti-smoking bill in September, 1978:**

*The intent behind the bill is laudable, this bill itself is needless, wasteful, duplicative, and intrudes the state into an area in which it does not belong and can ill afford. It will only make big government bigger. It is virtually unenforceable, and I cannot approve it.*

## "Nuisance Legislation"

**LEGIS 50**  
The Center for  
Legislative Improvement

From the LEGIS 50 Conference  
Who Regulates the Regulators?  
Amelia Island Plantation, Florida  
May 31 - June 2, 1978

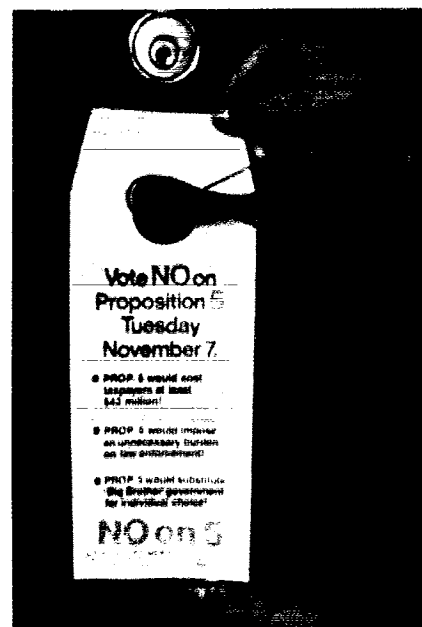
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In an editorial calling for voters to reject Proposition 5, the anti-smoking ballot measure that was defeated by California voters on November 7, 1978, The *San Francisco Examiner* wrote:

*A person has to wonder . . . if some of the same psychology that propelled Carry Nation into the saloons with her dread hatchet is not present in this zealous drive to fine those who puff (cigarettes) outside of government-approved enclosures? Doubtless the urge to purify the wrongdoers is transferable from Carry's day to some among the pinstripe generation. And if the wrongdoers refuse to accept the revealed light, some will say we must sick the law upon them like a pinscher.*

**Looking out for #1, a book by Robert J. Ringer:**

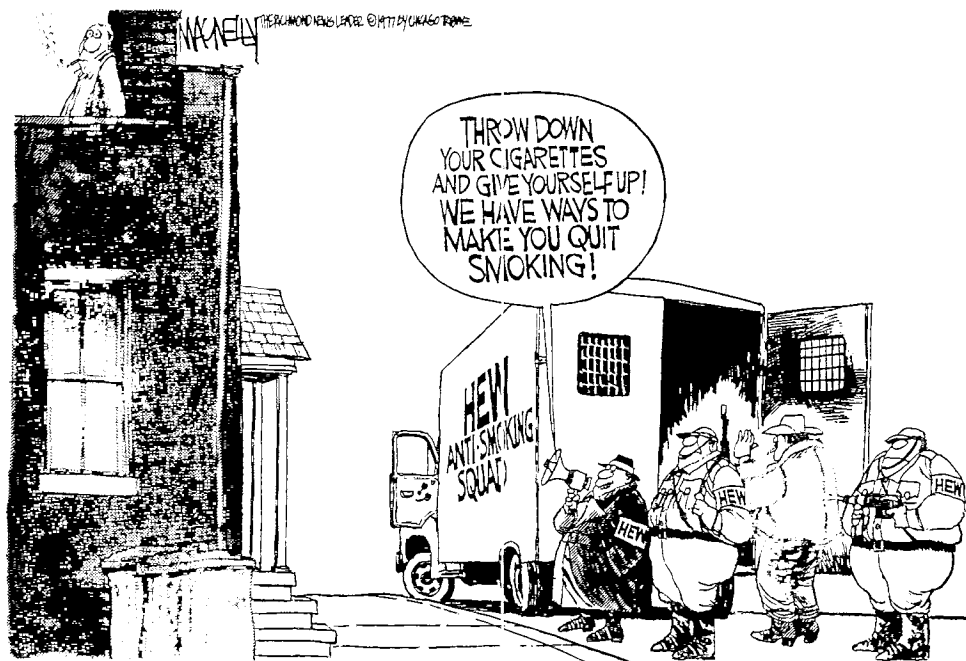
*Whenever a group is formed for the purpose of inducing government leaders to create a law, what it amounts to—when stripped of fancy words and pretenses—is that certain people are asking the government to impose their personal desires on others.*



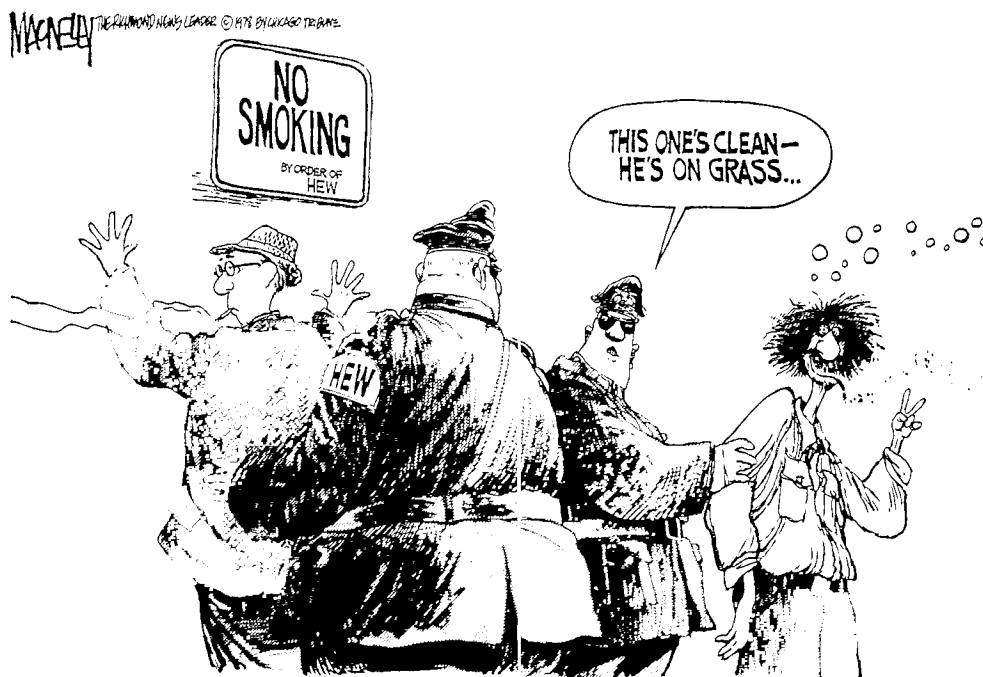
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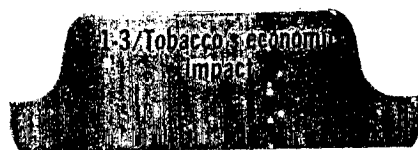


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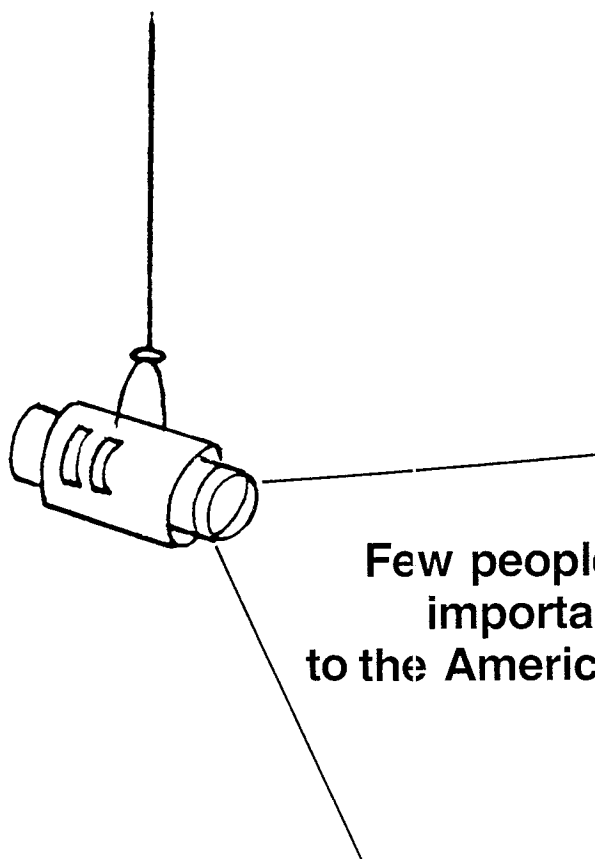


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**Few people realize how  
important tobacco is  
to the American economy.**

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## 1-3/The Economic Impact of Tobacco—Action Points (✓)

- ✓ The demand for cigarettes and other tobacco products in this country and abroad creates jobs for millions of Americans, puts billions of dollars into federal, state, and local treasuries each year, and helps reduce America's net balance of trade deficit by over \$1.7 billion annually.
- ✓ The tobacco industry's total contribution to the national economy, in the form of direct and indirect purchases and payments, amounts to about \$50 billion annually!
- ✓ The estimated \$18 billion spent on tobacco products in the U.S. in 1978 (over 92% of which was for cigarettes) is about the same amount American consumers spent for radios, television sets, records, and musical instruments that year.
- ✓ Tobacco is one of the few crops that can utilize family labor and still provide a reasonable income on a relatively small plot of land. About 270 man-hours of labor are required to produce and market an acre of tobacco. By contrast, food grains (wheat and rice) require about 3½ man-hours per acre.
- ✓ Tobacco is our nation's sixth ranking cash crop (after corn, soybeans, hay of all kinds, wheat, and cotton).
- ✓ The tobacco price support program is a loan program. It is not a subsidy program, as those opposed to smoking like to call it. It's been shown, year after year, to be one of the federal government's least expensive and most successful farm loan programs, costing taxpayers around \$52 million since 1933. Without the price support program, hundreds of thousands of small tobacco farms could be out of business.
- ✓ Cigarette smokers already pay more than their fair share of taxes. Each year, they pay over \$6 billion in federal, state, and local taxes. These are taxes paid, moreover, in return for *no additional services*. Still there are some people who want to see cigarette taxes raised even higher in order to discourage smoking and to punish those who continue to smoke.

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## 1-3/The economic impact of tobacco

A 1979 economic impact study conducted by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania found that the tobacco industry's total contribution to the U.S. economy, in the form of direct and indirect purchases and payments, amounts to approximately \$50 billion annually.

A measure of the size of the tobacco industry, and its place in the economy, can be seen by comparing the amount of money spent for its products (over 92% for cigarettes) with those of other well-known products or groups of products:

- The estimated \$18 billion spent on tobacco products in 1978 was about the same amount as was spent for radios, television sets, records, and musical instruments.
- It was also about the same amount that was spent for personal care (toilet articles, beautician and barber services, etc.)

The demand for cigarettes and other tobacco products in this country and abroad creates jobs for millions of Americans, puts billions of dollars into federal, state, and local treasuries in the form of taxes each year, and also helps reduce America's net balance of trade deficit by over \$1.7 billion annually.

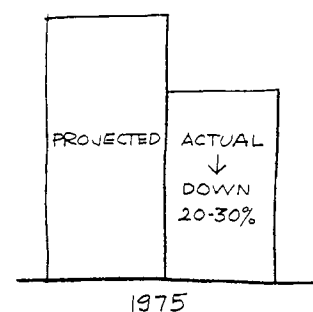
The tobacco industry is also an industry that is relatively free from the effects of recession. Therefore jobs in this industry, especially at Philip Morris, are good, stable jobs. Our company is able to pay good wages, provide opportunities for growth and advancement, and provide employees and their families with one of the most comprehensive and generous benefit programs in American industry. Moreover, the profits from cigarette sales help provide capital that is used in the growth and expansion of other operating companies within Philip Morris Incorporated.

It's true that this is an impressive story. The immediate future of our corporation is bright. But if the antismoking movement were ever to succeed, it would have a serious effect on everyone associated with the tobacco industry. In terms of overall cigarette industry growth, it already has.

Dr. Kenneth E. Ward, in a statistical study cited in the February 23, 1978, Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith *Institutional Report*, noted the effect that antismoking campaigns have had on the growth of the cigarette industry. Dr. Ward concluded "*that without the cumulative effect of anti-smoking pressures that began with the Surgeon General's Report in 1964, per capita cigarette consumption in 1975 would have exceeded the actual 1975 level by 20-30%.*"

It's clear that the antis don't seem to be concerned with the number of jobs, and the quality of jobs, in the tobacco industry. Beyond this, the general public has little understanding of tobacco's significant contribution to our country's economy.

CIGARETTES PER CAPITA



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## Sales volume and store traffic

Cigarettes provide important sales volume and profits for the approximately 1.4 million American retail outlets. In addition, cigarettes produce store traffic for these retailers—traffic that helps them to sell other products as well.

## The supply network

Tobacco use has created a tremendous number of trades and services that have long added to the economic importance of our industry. The need for supplies, equipment, and services gives employment to additional millions of workers and adds millions of dollars to personal and business income in almost every state.

## Taxes

In 1978, U.S. consumers spent an estimated \$18 billion on tobacco products (92% for cigarettes). Of the \$18 billion, about \$6.3 billion went to federal, state, and local governments as excise tax. This averages out to about \$105 for each of the approximately 57 million adult American smokers. This revenue helps to provide schools, roads, hospitals, and other vital services. *These taxes are paid in return for no special services for the smokers who pay them.* Moreover, such taxes are discriminatory because they fall most heavily on those least able to afford them, mainly lower-income smokers.

## Agriculture

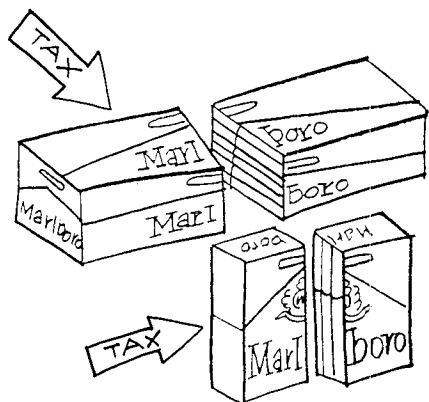
In 1978, tobacco was the sixth largest cash crop in the U.S., behind corn, soybeans, hay of all kinds, wheat, and cotton.

Although tobacco requires only 0.3% of the nation's cropland, tobacco sales totaled over \$2.5 billion in 1978, representing 2.3% of the total for all cash crops and farm commodities.

Tobacco, moreover, is one of the few remaining crops that can utilize family labor and still provide a reasonable income on a relatively small plot of land. No other crop could replace the value of tobacco for those who now grow the leaf. According to a U.S. Department of Agriculture study, tobacco is estimated to be ten times more profitable per acre than soybeans or other major crops.

## The tobacco price stabilization program

A general lack of understanding of tobacco's economic impact has also led to calls for ending the federal government's tobacco price stabilization program, which helps assure the livelihoods of over 600,000 farm families on over 400,000 farms. Opponents of this program use the mistaken reasoning that the government is encouraging people to smoke. Over the years, the tobacco program has had broad support because it has provided stability to the tobacco economy and its costs have been minimal. On October 12, 1976, then candidate, now President Jimmy Carter said, "I personally see no need to do away with a program that costs the government next to nothing, while enabling so many hard-working families to earn a living."



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### How it works

Unlike the stabilization programs for other agricultural commodities, the tobacco price stabilization program has always paid back more to the government than it borrowed. In part, this is because tobacco stored as collateral for a loan can be held for up to 10 years waiting to be sold at a time of high demand—and high price.

People opposed to the program—and those who don't know better—call it a "subsidy." In fact, it's a *loan* program administered by grower cooperatives that operates at a profit. Farmers who agree to strict limitations on acreage, poundage, and insecticides are eligible for a loan on their tobacco. When the tobacco is ultimately sold to a manufacturer, or for export, the grower cooperative repays the loan with interest. The Department of Agriculture provides grading, marketing, and other services that benefit tobacco growers. The small annual appropriation for all of these undertakings is dwarfed by the \$2.5 billion the federal government gets from the excise tax of 8¢ per pack on cigarettes.

Thus, the tobacco price stabilization program is one of the least expensive and most successful of the farm commodity programs.

### What if the program were ended?

Let's look at what would happen if the program were ended.

- Hundreds of thousands of farm families would be affected. Many of these farmers would be forced to seek other forms of work and many would undoubtedly find themselves in need of government assistance.
- The notion that ending the program would somehow reduce smoking is not supported by basic economic facts. Because farmers agree not to grow

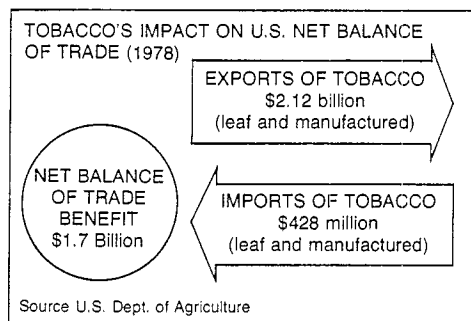
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more tobacco than the quota permits, the price of tobacco is kept from falling below the basic support price. If the program were ended, the price of tobacco would *decrease* because there would be no more quotas on how much tobacco could be grown.

### Exports and imports

At a time of multibillion-dollar trade deficits for the United States, the tobacco industry is doing its part to try to slow the trend. The U.S. is the world's leading tobacco exporter and the third largest tobacco importer. In 1978, U.S. exports of leaf tobacco and manufactured products totaled some \$2.12 billion, a record high. Imports came to approximately \$428 million. The difference represented a positive net contribution of approximately \$1.7 billion to the U.S. balance of trade in calendar year 1978.

And so we see that the tobacco industry has a significant impact on the economy of our nation. It affects the economic well-being of the farmer, the manufacturer, the wholesaler, and the retailer. If the tobacco industry were to be wiped out in a single, sudden blow, the effect on the entire American economy would be beyond calculation.



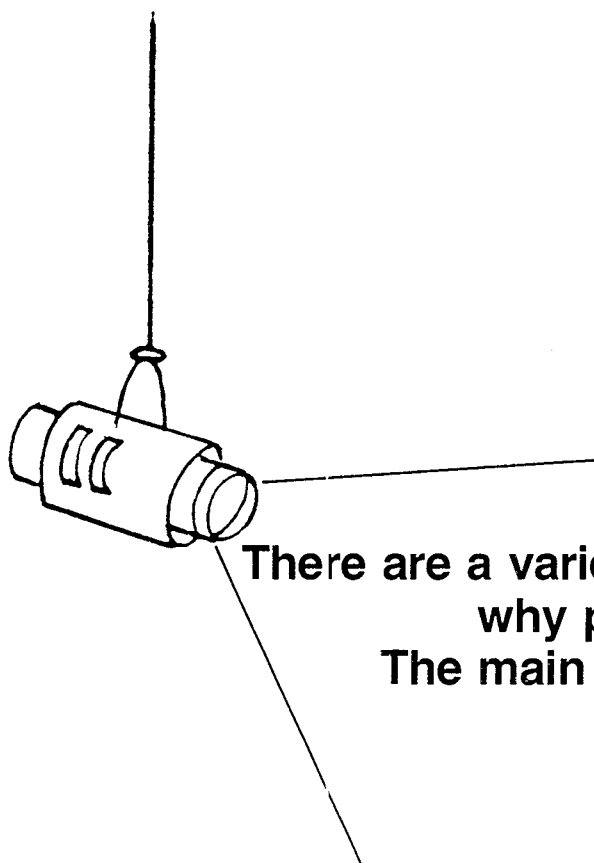
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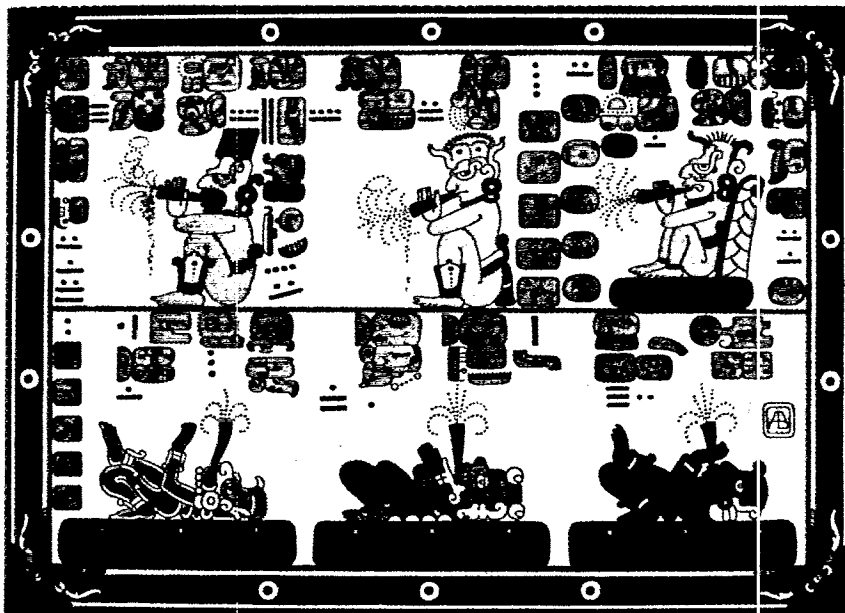
## 1-4/Why People Smoke— Action Points (✓)

- ✓ The intent and function of cigarette advertising, according to a number of independent studies, is to establish and/or maintain brand loyalty among people who already smoke. Cigarette ads are not directed at nonsmokers and numerous studies have shown that advertising is not a significant factor in the decision to smoke.
- ✓ For hundreds of years, during which time tobacco has been introduced to every society, people have smoked for one overriding reason: pleasure.
- ✓ Those opposed to smoking rarely—if ever—mention that smoking may have positive aspects for a great number of people.
- ✓ How many people know that the 1964 Advisory Committee Report to the Surgeon General—*the cornerstone of the antismoking movement*—includes a section on the “beneficial effects of tobacco”?
- ✓ According to many respected psychologists, sociologists, and medical researchers, smoking may also have a positive effect in controlling stress and in easing social interactions.

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## 1-4/Why people smoke

The Indians never saw an ad



Arents Tobacco Collection, N.Y. Public Library

Through the past four centuries, the practice of smoking became common in every society into which tobacco was introduced. The Indians Columbus saw "drinking smoke" had never seen an ad; why did they smoke? Why in the first place did Europeans imitate the Indians' custom of smoking and why when those explorers returned home did the general populace follow suit? Other Indian customs weren't adopted in the universal way smoking was. Why?

### The role of advertising

Those opposed to tobacco claim that today's cigarette advertising is capable of converting nonsmokers into smokers. Does it? An economics professor wrote: "*Cigarette advertising in the U.S. has been a competitive weapon that companies have used to divide the national cigarette market among themselves. It has not been used as a means for expanding the cigarette market.*"

The cigarette market in Italy is a good example. In 1962, all cigarette advertising was banned in that country, yet sales increased from 55.8 billion units in 1962 to 90.2 billion units in 1977.

A professor of psychology at Indiana University reported the results of his smoking-behavior tests to Congress, saying that there is "no scientific basis" for inferring that cigarette television advertising had a significant influence on young people's smoking. He pointed out that soap companies spend millions of dollars in advertising—not to induce people to wash, but to use their brand when they do.

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Also commenting on the role of cigarette advertising was the *Columbia Journalism Review* (Sept./Oct. 1977):

*What about the solid research indicating that cigarette advertising rarely influences decisions to smoke or not to smoke but that its effect, and purpose, is to influence the choice of brands?*

### A lack of research as to why people smoke

There are a number of theories about why people smoke, but for the most part, the question remains unresolved. Compared to the number of studies done in connection with the alleged health effects of smoking, little research has been done in this area.

No one can reasonably deny that smoking provides some satisfaction for millions of people. The Swedish Nobel Laureate, Professor Ulf von Euler, said, in 1975, it was surprising that so little research has been devoted to the positive aspects of smoking. He further stated:

*Nobody would believe that so many people would use tobacco or products containing substances similar to nicotine unless it has positive effects.*

**Dr. McKeen Cattell**, a distinguished scientist and Professor Emeritus of Pharmacology at Cornell University Medical College, shares a similar view:

*The recorded history of tobacco smoking, going back to the discovery of America, and its rapid spread thereafter to all parts of the world, suggests that it provides something of value to the human race.*

**Ross R. Millhiser**, Vice Chairman of Philip Morris Incorporated, in an interview with the *New York Times* on Jan. 25, 1979:

*Cigarettes supply some desire, some need of the fundamental human equation. The human equation is always trying to balance itself, and cigarettes play some part in that.*

When the antis "quote" the **1964 Report of the Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General**, they almost never talk about the fact that this report includes a section on "beneficial effects" of tobacco. The report states:

*Evaluation of the effects of smoking on health would lack perspective if no consideration were given to the possible benefits to be derived from the occasional or habitual use of tobacco.*

The report also states:

*The significant beneficial effects of smoking occur primarily in the area of mental health, and the habit originates in a search for contentment.*

There is now a growing body of scientific information that indicates that smoking may have positive and helpful aspects for people who do smoke. If so, these would lie mainly in the following areas:

- Pleasure
- Stress
- Social custom

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## Pleasure

When smokers are asked why they smoke in spite of the Surgeon General's warning on every pack, carton, and advertisement, most respond that they smoke for the enjoyment of it. They consider smoking one of life's pleasures.

**Dr. Hans Selye**, head of the International Institute of Stress at the University of Montreal, one of the world's leading authorities on stress, wrote in 1973:

*Perhaps no one explanatory model will suffice to account for all smoking behavior, but whatever the ultimate explanation or explanations, we can certainly say at this point in time that the smoker finds smoking a gratifying experience.*

**Dr. Sidney Russ**, in his book *Smoking and its Effects*, wrote in 1956:

*Smoking is a pleasure . . . smoking is a luxury . . . smoking is not a world-wide habit without good reason. [Tobacco] on the whole is a beneficent weed; it helps suffering humanity at many a crisis.*



## Stress

It is generally acknowledged that a certain amount of stress is necessary to life and good health. But when stress continues and an individual cannot cope with it properly or adequately, it could lead to actual damage to the body and mind.

How do some people cope with this?

**Dr. Selye:**

*The choice is not "to smoke or not to smoke," but whether to smoke, or to overeat, to drink, to drive on polluted and crowded highways, or merely to fret and bite our fingernails to avoid boredom and give vent to our pent-up energy.*

*Certainly smoking . . . to many people, has proved to be much more useful than complete rest after exposure to stress.*

**Dr. B. Kesic** of Yugoslavia, in 1964:

*Perhaps smoking is the "safety valve" of modern civilization.*

**Dr. Walter Menninger**, a noted psychiatrist with the Menninger Foundation, wrote in 1976:

*Some individuals may live longer because they smoke to relieve tensions. The person who stops smoking is often unable to relieve stress, which can cause psychosomatic illnesses and gastrointestinal problems, such as ulcers.*

## Social custom

Smoking has always played an important role in the way people interact with one another. How do some authorities explain this?

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**Psychologist Bernard Mausner** of Beaver College in Pennsylvania:

*[Smoking] not only yields a variety of pleasurable sensations but, more important, helps the smoker cope with the demands of life, eases and promotes his or her social interactions and is a valuable aid to the establishment of a sense of identity.*



**Dr. Selye:**

*I offer cigarettes to postgraduate candidates when they present themselves for interviews, because I find that it relaxes them and they speak more easily. The soldier will smoke before battle. A salesman I met on a plane told me he always smokes when he has an important conversation with a potential buyer.*

Cultural anthropologist **Sherwin J. Feinhandler, Ph.D.**, testifying before a U.S. Congressional subcommittee in September, 1978:

*Smoking is a ritual that welcomes strangers, provides companionship in solitude, fills "empty time," marks the significance of certain kinds of occasions and expresses individual identity and personal style.*

We can see then that over the centuries, in nearly every society, people have smoked for a variety of reasons. The main reason continues to be pleasure.

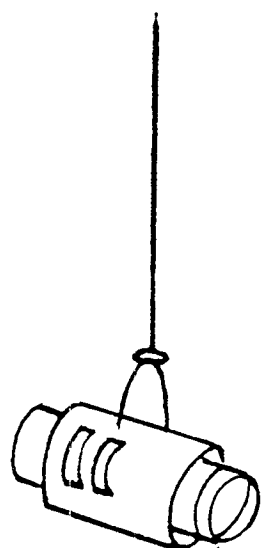
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**It's just not true  
that ambient (surrounding) smoke  
has been proved to harm the health  
of normal nonsmokers.**

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## 1-5/Ambient Smoke— Action Points (✓)

- ✓ There is serious medical opinion—including that of many representatives from recognized antismoking organizations—that there is no threat to the health of the normal nonsmoker from someone else's tobacco smoke.
- ✓ In the fall of 1978, eighteen scientists and researchers from across the country provided testimony to a Congressional subcommittee on the effects of other people's smoke. They concluded that while tobacco smoke may be an annoyance, it does not represent a health threat to the average nonsmoker.
- ✓ The most recent U.S. Surgeon General's Report concluded that *"healthy nonsmokers exposed to cigarette smoke have little or no physiologic response to the smoke, and what response does occur may be due to psychological factors."*
- ✓ No conclusive scientific evidence has been found that would prove such a thing as an allergy to tobacco smoke actually exists. Much more research is needed.
- ✓ Numerous studies have shown that carbon monoxide concentrations in enclosed areas resulting from cigarette smoking are very low and do not present an inhalation hazard to the nonsmoker.

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## 1-5/Ambient smoke

Almost all public smoking prohibition or regulation measures begin with the statement of purpose or legislative intent that speaks to the protection of the public health. On these grounds, they are unjustifiable.

Tobacco smoke, especially in a closed, crowded or confined condition, may be annoying to some. Particularly in poorly-ventilated surroundings, it may bother some nonsmokers and smokers alike. However, there is insufficient scientific evidence to prove the case for a consequent health hazard to the average individual.

Even several eminent researchers and government officials who are well known for their opposition to tobacco use agree that ambient tobacco smoke is not harmful:

**Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond**, Vice President, Epidemiology and Statistics, American Cancer Society, and author of the well-known studies linking smoking and lung cancer, was reported to have made statements to the International Conference on Public Education about Cancer in 1974 as follows:

*Dr. Hammond stated that there "was no shred of evidence" that a nonsmoker can get cancer from "second-hand" smoke and there is a lot of evidence that he cannot . . . He added that to suggest passive smoking [inhaling other people's smoke] could cause cancer is dishonest.*

**Dr. Reuel Stallones**, University of Texas and an advisor to the 1964 Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health, 1976:

*In very direct terms there is no medical proof that nonsmokers exposed to cigarette smoke in ordinary relations with smokers suffer any damage.*

**Federal Aviation Administration, National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, and HEW, 1971:**

*. . . it is concluded that inhalation of the by-products from tobacco smoke generated as a result of passengers smoking aboard commercial aircraft does not represent a significant health hazard to nonsmoking passengers.*

**Dr. Ernst Wynder**, President, American Health Foundation, 1976:

*Passive smoking can provoke tears or can be otherwise disagreeable, but it has no influence on the health.*

### The cocktail lounge—hangout for ambient smoke

Two scientists from the Harvard School of Public Health wanted to uncover the straight story of how much smoke a nonsmoker would be exposed to in a smoky room. William C. Hinds and Melvin W. First sampled the smoke in the air in commuter trains, waiting rooms, restaurants, and cocktail lounges.

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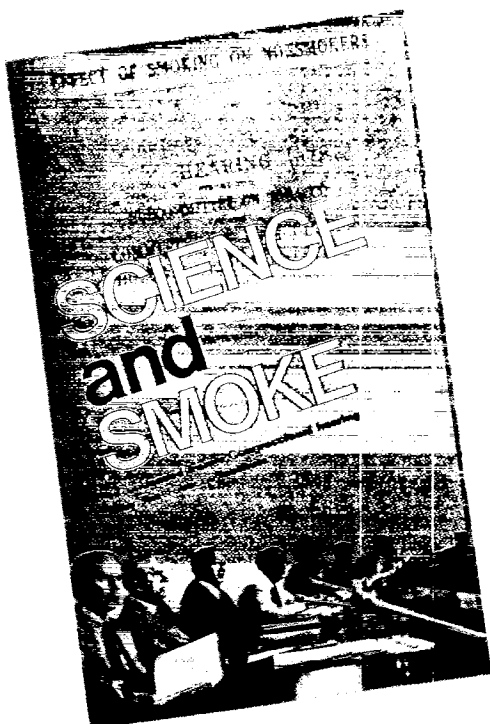
You guessed it! Cocktail lounges won the prize for the smokiest atmosphere. However, according to the data reported, for a nonsmoker in such an atmosphere to inhale the equivalent of one filter cigarette, he'd have to park on a bar stool for 100 or more continuous hours. (At the end of which time he'd be a candidate for cirrhosis of the liver—or at least calluses!)

### Congressional hearings on the effect of smoking on nonsmokers

In the fall of 1978, 18 scientists and researchers were invited to give evidence before the Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture in the U.S. House of Representatives. The subcommittee was told that there is no scientific justification for restricting public smoking. Here's what a few of those testifying had to say:

**Dr. Edwin R. Fisher, M.D.**, Professor of Pathology at the University of Pittsburgh:

*My careful review of the literature, confirming the conclusions based upon my own experimental data and the related work discussed, reveals a lack of scientific information which would allow me to conclude that atmospheric tobacco smoke or its constituents represent a health hazard in nonsmokers.*



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**R. Kenneth M. Moser**, Director of the Pulmonary Division of the University of Southern California at San Diego School of Medicine:

*In my opinion, there is not now a sufficient body of hard facts to support the view that public smoking poses a health hazard to the lungs of the nonsmoker. If there were, I would be among the first to press for a legislative remedy.*

**Dr. Walter M. Booker**, Emeritus Professor of Pharmacology, Howard University College of Medicine:

*I am interested in reliable data which demonstrate whether a nonsmoker absorbs tobacco smoke in public places and, if so, whether the amount is sufficient to cause adverse health effects. The literature, in my opinion, does not support the theory that a nonsmoker absorbs amounts which can cause harm.*

**John E. Salvaggio, M.D.**, an allergy specialist and professor of medicine at Tulane Medical Center, addressed the assertion that "millions of people are allergic to tobacco smoke".

*Contrary to claims about tobacco smoke allergy, in my judgment, it has not been clearly established that allergens for man are present in tobacco smoke.*

### Other voices on ambient smoke

The 1979 Report of the Surgeon General on "Smoking and Health" also addressed the issue of other people's smoke:

*Healthy nonsmokers exposed to cigarette smoke have little or no physiologic response to the smoke, and what response does occur may be due to psychological factors.*

On the issue of carbon monoxide:

*Carbon monoxide produced by cigarette smoking represents a minor part of the total atmospheric burden of CO [carbon monoxide] . . . .*

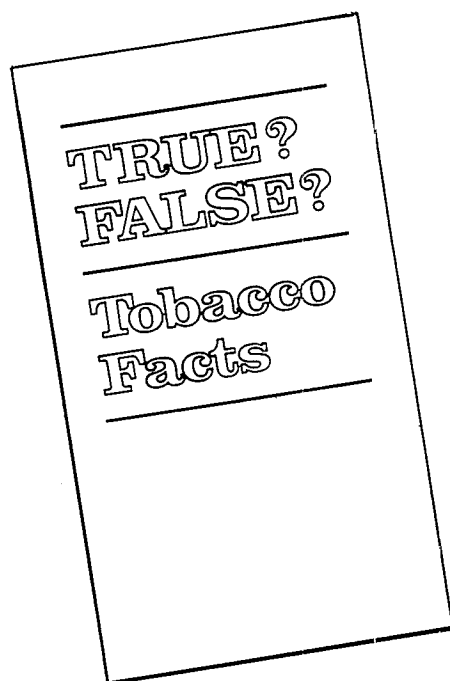
**Dr. Albert H. Niden**, a researcher and specialist in lung diseases at Drew Postgraduate Medical School and the University of Southern California School of Medicine, commented on the carbon monoxide issue in an essay in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1978:

*. . . tobacco smoking, in truth, adds a minimal amount of carbon monoxide to the overall environment and studies measuring that substance's presence in enclosed areas, under realistic conditions, have shown that levels of carbon monoxide rarely exceed nine parts per million, which is the federal ambient clean-air standard.*

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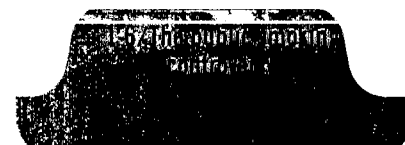
Dr. Niden went on to conclude the essay with this statement:

*What we do know is this: Measurement of tobacco smoke in public places shows that it is substantially diluted in a short period of time by normal air flow, resulting in a low level of exposure to nonsmokers in the area. As a pulmonary specialist and researcher, I do not believe that available data demonstrate such exposure to be a significant health risk to nonsmokers.*

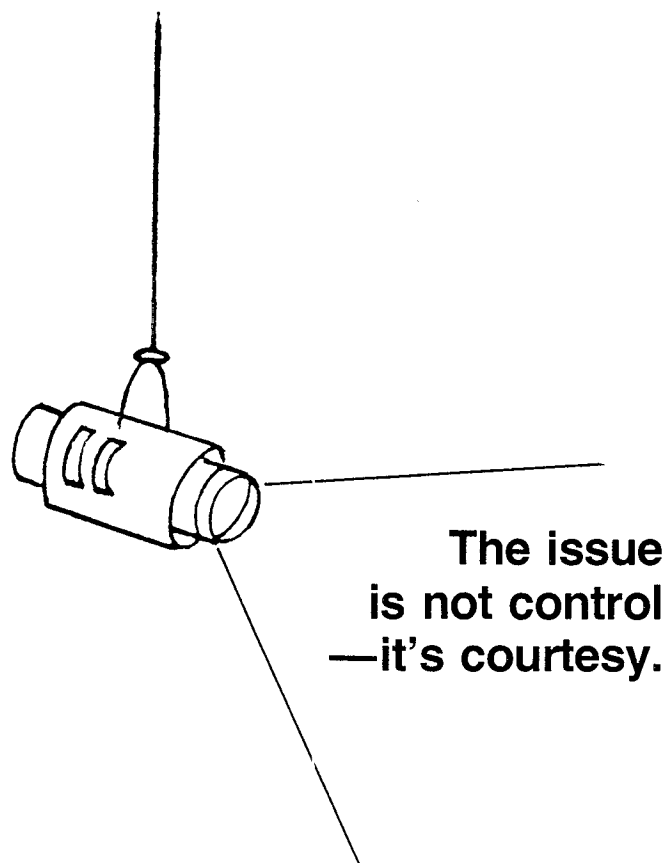


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## 1-6/The Public Smoking Controversy—Action Points (✓)

- ✓ Emotional antagonism, rather than reason, is what motivates the extremists in the antismoking movement.
- ✓ Today's modern antismoking crusaders have much in common with those of yesterday. They want to establish their holier-than-thou will over other people.
- ✓ The isolation of smokers in public places such as restaurants, places of work, government buildings and on passenger flights, is nothing more than back-of-the-bus segregation.
- ✓ Surveys have shown that, when compared to other common everyday annoyances, tobacco smoke ranks very low.
- ✓ Should police harass and arrest smokers? Or should they spend their time arresting muggers, dope peddlers, rapists, and murderers?

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## 1-6/The public smoking controversy

For many years, Americans have shared a relatively harmonious community life—recreational, occupational, educational. The ideals of tolerance for the customs of others and good manners in our daily living have helped overcome many minor obstacles. A free and creative people, we've spent our time trying to improve economic conditions for all, while maintaining personal liberty. As a nation, we've been remarkably successful.

After these many years of living side by side, with a minimum of interference and petty restrictions, we're suddenly being confronted with an issue never before considered a problem. This issue is public smoking. Public smoking refers to a nonsmoker's exposure to tobacco smoke in public places (such as elevators, buses, trains, airplanes, private businesses, libraries, concert halls, and so on.)

Who has created the issue and why?

### Beginnings of the public smoking issue

From a historical standpoint, the public smoking issue first appeared in 1971 with a statement from the then Surgeon General Jesse Steinfeld who, with virtually no basis of fact, suggested a partial ban on public smoking because: "Evidence is accumulating that the nonsmoker may have untoward effects from the pollution his smoking neighbor forces upon him." He then went on to urge that smoking be banned in such confined places as "restaurants, theaters, airplanes, trains, and buses."

In the 1972 Report of the Surgeon General to Congress on smoking and health, a complete chapter was devoted to the subject of public smoking. The title alone—"Public Exposure to Air Pollution from Tobacco Smoke"—was enough to make the reader think there was something "unhealthy" about breathing tobacco smoke.

### What is happening now?

The custom of smoking is being attacked by certain groups of nonsmokers. Their existence is based upon one overriding goal: to stop everyone from smoking. As a leader of one such group stated: "Probably the only way we can win a substantial reduction [in smoking] is if we can somehow make it nonacceptable socially. We thought the scare of medical statistics and opinions would produce a major reduction. It didn't."

### The antismoking groups and their goals

Today's antismoking crusaders have much in common with those of yesterday. They want to establish their holier-than-thou will over the people. They ignore one basic fact: most people are perfectly capable of deciding for themselves what pleasures they choose to enjoy.

The antismoking people of today are much like the prohibitionists and anti-smoking people who flourished in the early part of this century. They want to

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make people "good" by having the government pass laws and issue regulations aimed at making a particular source of enjoyment either unpopular, hard to get, or both. The earlier attempts at "reform" failed. For the same reasons, the current antismoking attempts will probably fail: reasonable people don't like being told what they can or can't do when they're used to deciding those matters for themselves.

Antismoking militants today, belong to such groups as ASH (Action on Smoking and Health), GASP (Group Against Smokers' Pollution), BANS (Ban All Nicotine Sources), and SHAME (Society to Humiliate, Aggravate, Mortify and Embarrass Smokers). The names themselves show that Ross Millhiser, Vice Chairman of Philip Morris Incorporated, was right when he said: "... sociologists suggest that the core of the controversy is an ineluctable part of human nature ... any practice or product possessed of the power to provide pleasure for some will provoke outrage in others."

In seeking to gain their long-range goal of having tobacco smoking prohibited, the antis are proceeding with widespread attempts at *restriction* and *segregation*. They want the government to pass laws to force people to change their lifestyles to conform with their own peculiar standards. They want to criminalize the smoking practices of millions of Americans. They demand legislation and enforcement to restrict smoking indoors and outdoors as well, at bus stops, in waiting lines, and in open-air sport and concert stadiums. They not only want to segregate smokers, but to fine them, jail them, and "teach them a lesson."

Syndicated columnist William F. Buckley has described them as "shower adjusters"—the kind of people who, if you didn't lock the door, would come into your bathroom to set the temperature of your shower because they know "what's best for you."

**Dr. Peter L. Berger**, Professor of Sociology at Boston College, takes them seriously. In the November, 1977, issue of *Worldview* magazine he wrote:

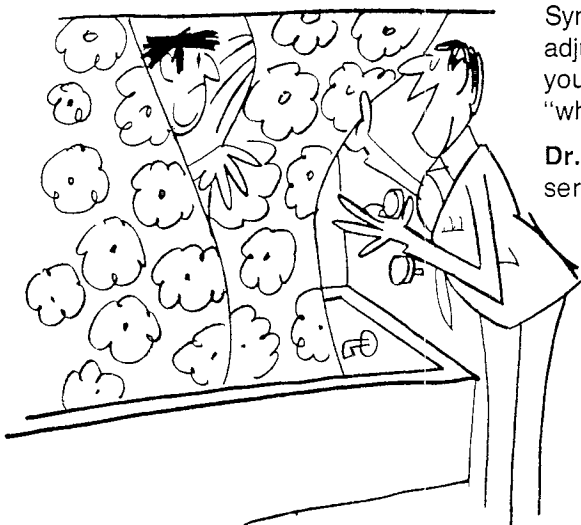
*There are segments of the American population in which the hostility to smoking and to smokers has taken on the quality of a crusade. And if we have learned anything from the politics of this century, it is to pay nervous attention to any new crusades appearing on the scene. I can foresee a time in the near future when smoking will be prohibited everywhere except by consenting adults in the privacy of their bedroom (and, to be honest, I don't trust the antismokers to stop short of the bedroom for very long either).*

### Here's how other observers view them:

**Russell Baker**, *The New York Times Magazine*, May 2, 1976:

*The list of people who can be safely pushed around, which used to include "ethnics"—blacks, Jews, women, Catholics—has been so diminished by the forces of uplift, that there is scarcely anybody left.*

*Smokers, I suspect, are being used to replace them by people who can't make it through the day without having an inferior class to feel superior to. The airlines—the buslines of the late 20th century—force smokers to ride in the back of the plane.*



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**Malcolm Forbes**, the publisher of *Forbes* magazine, in *The New York Times*, January 20, 1978:

*Aren't you getting sick and tired of those saviors who want to ban this and that and everything else? Maybe those of us who smoke the occasional cigar and the infinitely more who still smoke cigarettes should create a pressure group to ban, say, perfumes. After all, some people are allergic to some perfumes and others prefer one fragrance to another. Why should we have to sit next to someone whose aftershave lotion or whose perfume or whose deodorant we don't like?*

**Maidee Walker**, in an essay, "Smoke Power," which appeared in the August 7, 1977 issue of the *Boston Herald American*, commented:

*These days, it seems, the Non-Smokers of the World are united in an all-out rather "groupy" cause celebre against the Smokers of the World. The cigarette is yet another "in" thing to object to, so the ovine [sheep-like] masses are diligently and dutifully objecting. They take it upon themselves to preach and lecture about something which is none of their business. In a word, they are pests.*

**William Safire**, a columnist for *The New York Times*, May 6, 1974:

*This is a good example of tyranny of the minority. A little group of willful persons, representing no opinion but their own, has rendered the great smoking public helpless and contemptible.*

In a letter to the editor of *Playboy* magazine in April, 1978 a reader wrote:

*... Antismoking rudeness has reached epidemic proportions, especially among basically intolerant people who consider their rights and values more important than anyone else's. The typical antismoker is abrasive, argumentative, self-righteous and antagonistic toward anyone who doesn't share his antismoking zeal. I'm most happy to watch where my smoke goes to avoid causing discomfort to others, but I won't have where I sit, whom I sit with and where I work dictated by some pigbrained antismoker. Most people have bad habits, but the worst bad habit is being holier than thou.*

Syndicated columnist **James J. Kilpatrick**, a former smoker, responding to Shana Alexander on "Sixty Minutes" (October 8, 1978):

*My own guess is that the antismoking zealots are mostly latter day Puritans. They're like the Prohibitionists, who didn't resent other people's drinking half as much as they resented other people's pleasures. But their antiliquor laws just made more law-breaking boozers, and your antismoking laws will have the same effect.*

The philosopher **Eric Hoffer** wrote in his 1951 book, *The True Believer*:

*A man is likely to mind his own business when it is worth minding. When it is not, he takes his mind off his own meaningless affairs by minding other people's business.*



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Shoe

by Jeff MacNelly



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### Practical considerations

Certainly economic considerations can never be directly compared to public health concerns. Even so, the economic considerations have an importance all their own.

- The taxpayer, whether a smoker or nonsmoker, is usually not aware of the cost of restrictive ordinances. It was reported, for example, that a San Diego ordinance cost taxpayers \$20,000 merely to get the law on the books in January, 1975. Complaints to the police department cost over \$70 each for the officer's time, processing, paperwork, and court action.
- The hospitality industry, already suffering in many areas, is most likely to be hard hit by smoking bans. The National Restaurant Association has protested, saying that enforcement would result in disorder and loss of business. In a survey conducted by the NRA, patrons were questioned about the most annoying factors they encountered in a restaurant. Tobacco smoking was *not* among the top 14 items mentioned. The NRA commented, "It would seem that customers are not quite as concerned with this issue as some would have us believe."

People operate businesses to serve the public. Who knows better (or is more interested in) how to please the customer than the owner and operator of a restaurant?

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**Jack O'Conner**, a restaurant owner and past president of the New Jersey Restaurant Association, a group that represents about 13,000 restaurants in the state:

*Restaurant owners are in business to serve the consumer. If there was a big cry for nonsmoking areas by the public, we'd comply. In fact, many restaurants have already set aside areas because it would make the atmosphere better for the type of consumer who frequents the establishment. If a customer has a problem sitting next to a smoker, all [that customer] would have to do is to ask the manager to move him or his party to another area. After all, they're paying their money for a service that they want and if they don't get it, they should let the manager know.*

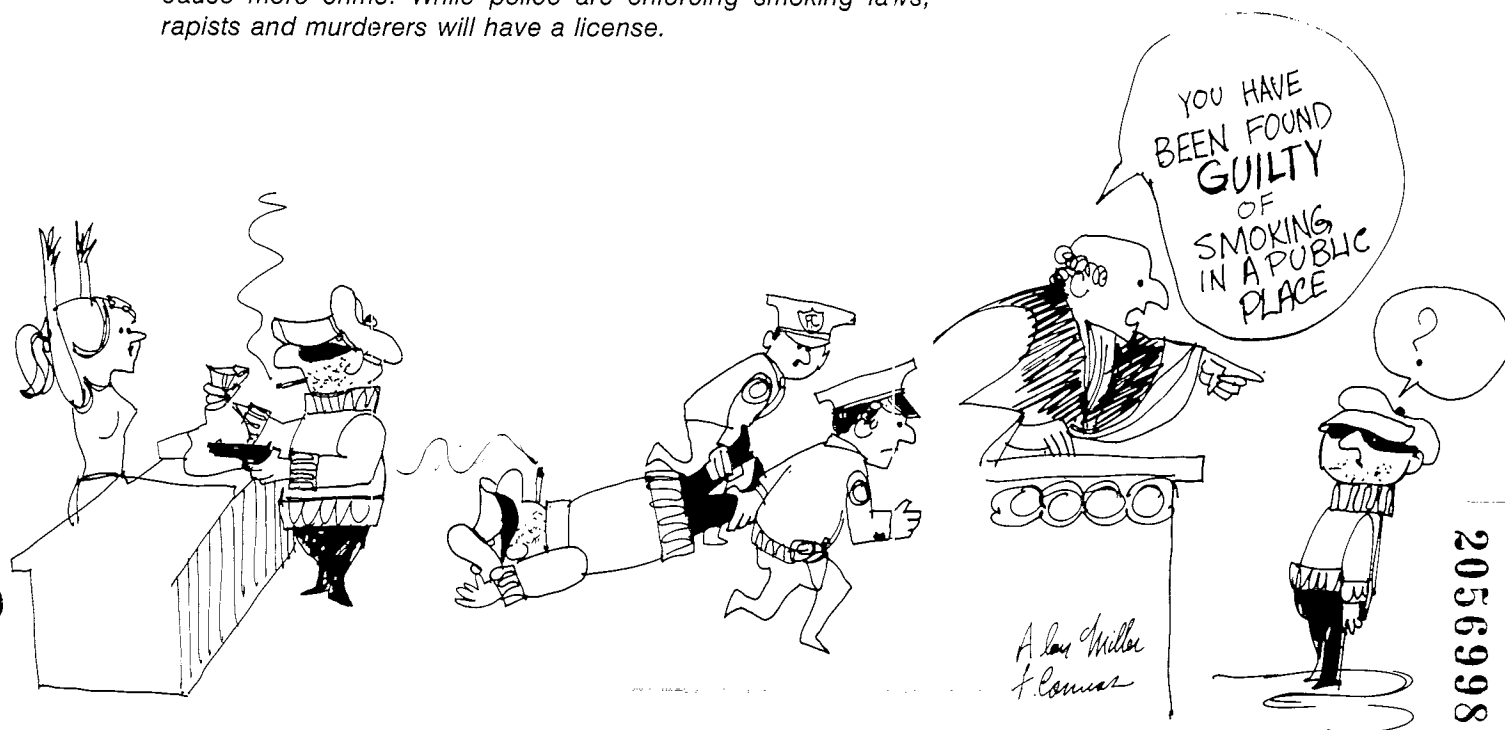
Restrictive smoking laws could cause problems for other businesses as well. Many existing businesses, for example, would have to close down due to their inability to comply with proposed special construction or ventilation requirements.

### Enforcement

We've already noted the costs in terms of police time involved in enforcing smoking bans. Let's look now at the priorities in law enforcement. Many law enforcement authorities have made their positions clear regarding the "crime" of smoking in public.

**Joseph Goldring, Detective and President, Police Association of the District of Columbia:**

*Police here will be wasting time enforcing smoking laws and the bills will inevitably make smokers criminals. A law such as this will cause more crime. While police are enforcing smoking laws, rapists and murderers will have a license.*



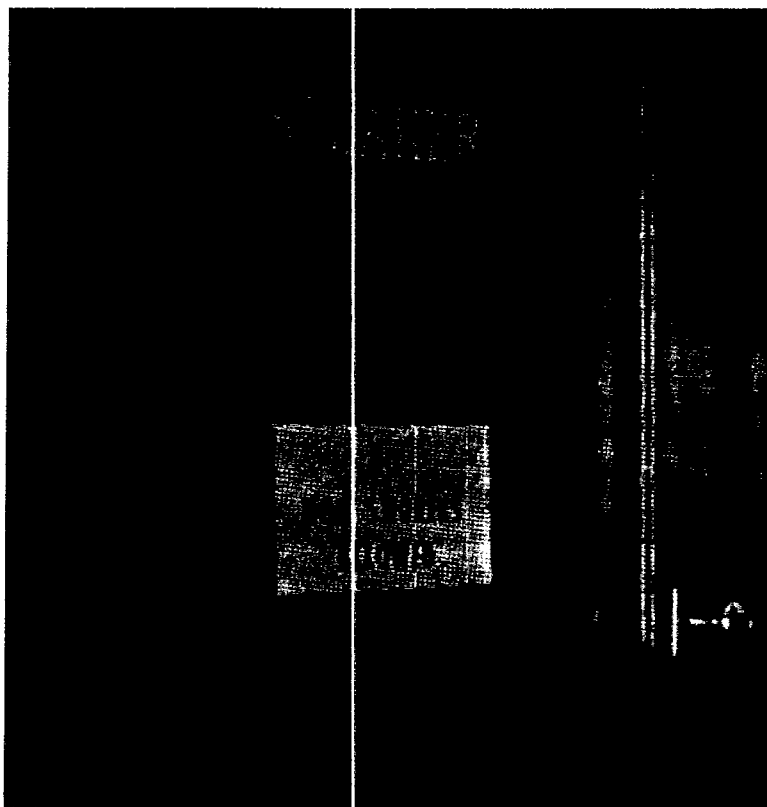
**Jim Wilson, Wilmington (N.C.) Star-News, questioned whether a ban could be enforced:**

*And who, pray tell, is going to enforce a general ban on smoking in public places? Our law enforcement agencies are strapped now with real crime. We don't have to invent some new and impossible task for them.*

Because enforcement of restrictive smoking laws has such a low priority with the police, this may result in the suggestion to the public that it's permissible to disregard those laws. Such an attitude can easily be carried to other situations where serious laws may not be obeyed.

### **Legislative priorities**

Legislators on all levels have been criticized for spending too much time writing bills prohibiting smoking. Editorialists and citizens ask why government officials are working on smoking bans while apparently ignoring other serious problems: crime, poverty, unemployment, rising taxes, etc. A Washington state legislator, after listening to a 20-minute debate on whether to ban smoking in the caucus room, walked out in protest. Another member, equally distraught, said, "We're really considering the pressing issues of the day, aren't we?"



A sign of the times? State legislators are becoming increasingly annoyed at the antics of antismokers, who return repeatedly to lobby for measures only a hair's breadth away from Prohibition.

## Restrictive legislation: the answer?

The response to this question requires knowledge of all the facts and a commitment to the American ideals of freedom and tolerance.

**Thomas G. Kavanagh, Chief Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court**, as reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1978, told 300 prosecutors at a conference of the National District Attorneys Association:

*A lot of people look to the state to save their souls. You can't make people good by passing a law.*

**An editorial in *Time* (January 12, 1976) concluded:**

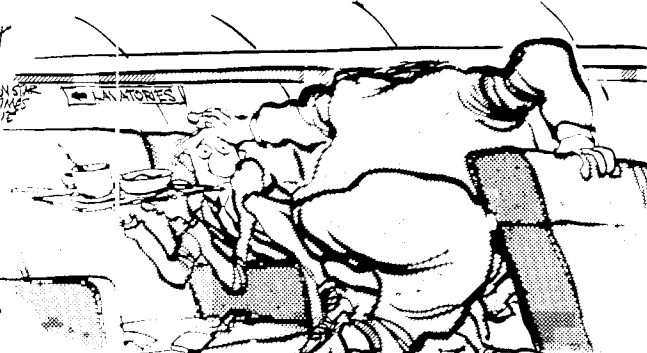
*In their evangelical zeal, the antislots might ponder history. Legislating conduct has always been a tricky business; attempts to discourage or prohibit smoking have been doomed to failure.*

It's often been suggested that the encouragement of mutual respect and good manners is the appropriate response and that legislative restrictions are not the answer. The most desirable manner of dealing with annoyances, whether it be tobacco smoke, excessive perfume, a crying baby, or a barking dog is just plain courtesy.



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PASS THE STOGIE!



...OR THE INDULGENT PARENT WITH THE ROTTEN LITTLE CHILDREN...

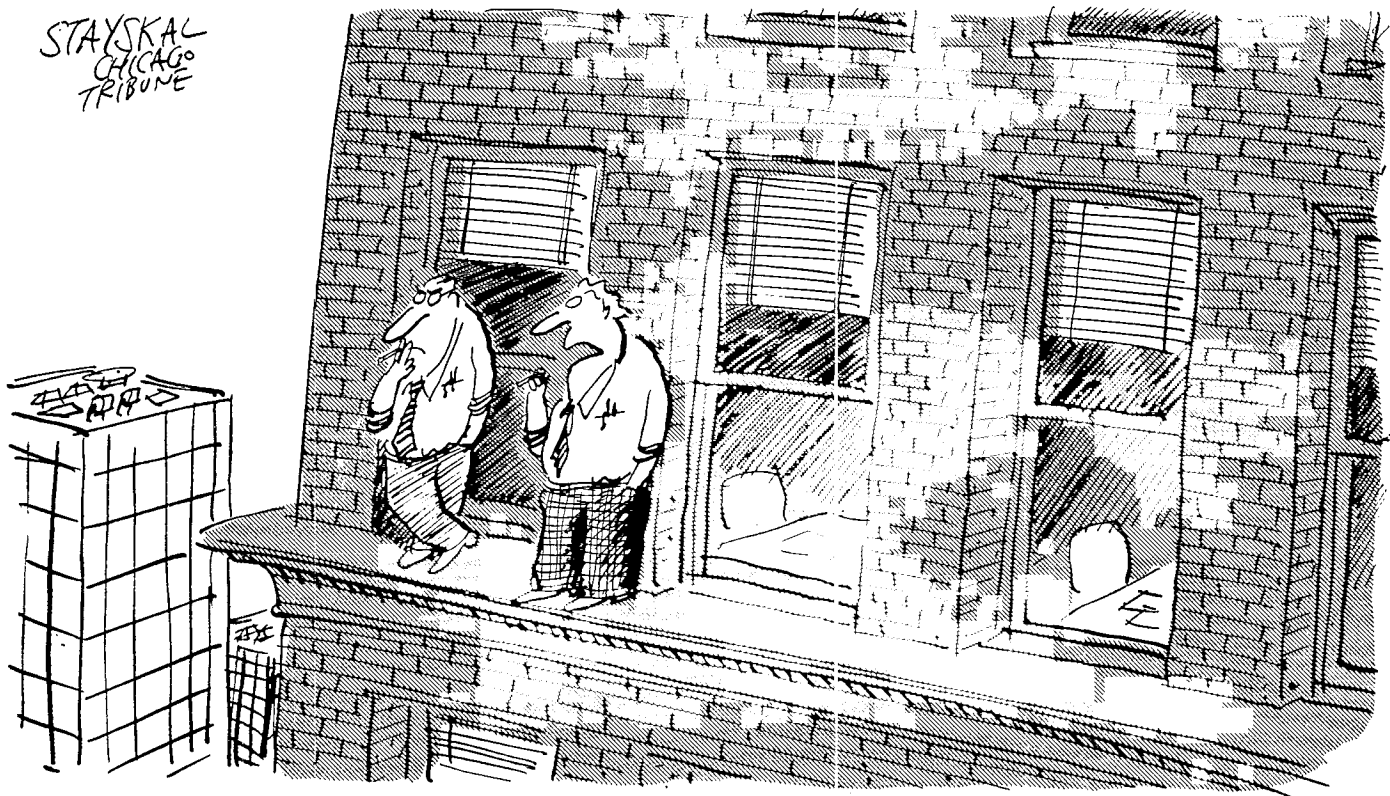
...OR THE PASSENGER WITH THE TINY BLADDER WHO ALWAYS SITS IN THE WINDOW SEAT

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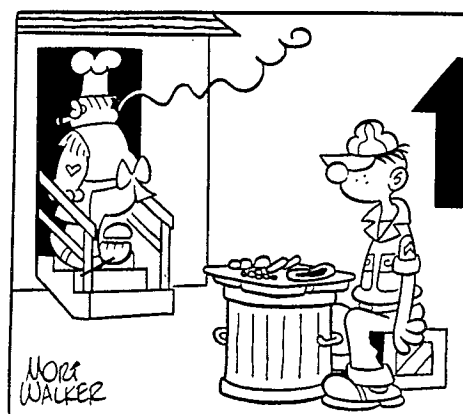
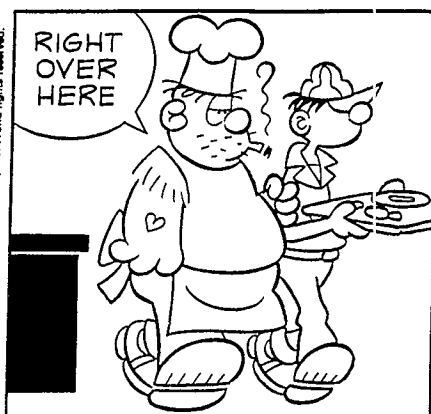


STAYSKAL  
CHICAGO  
TRIBUNE



"THIS ISN'T SO BAD CONSIDERING SOME COMPANIES HAVE BANNED SMOKING AREAS ALTOGETHER!"

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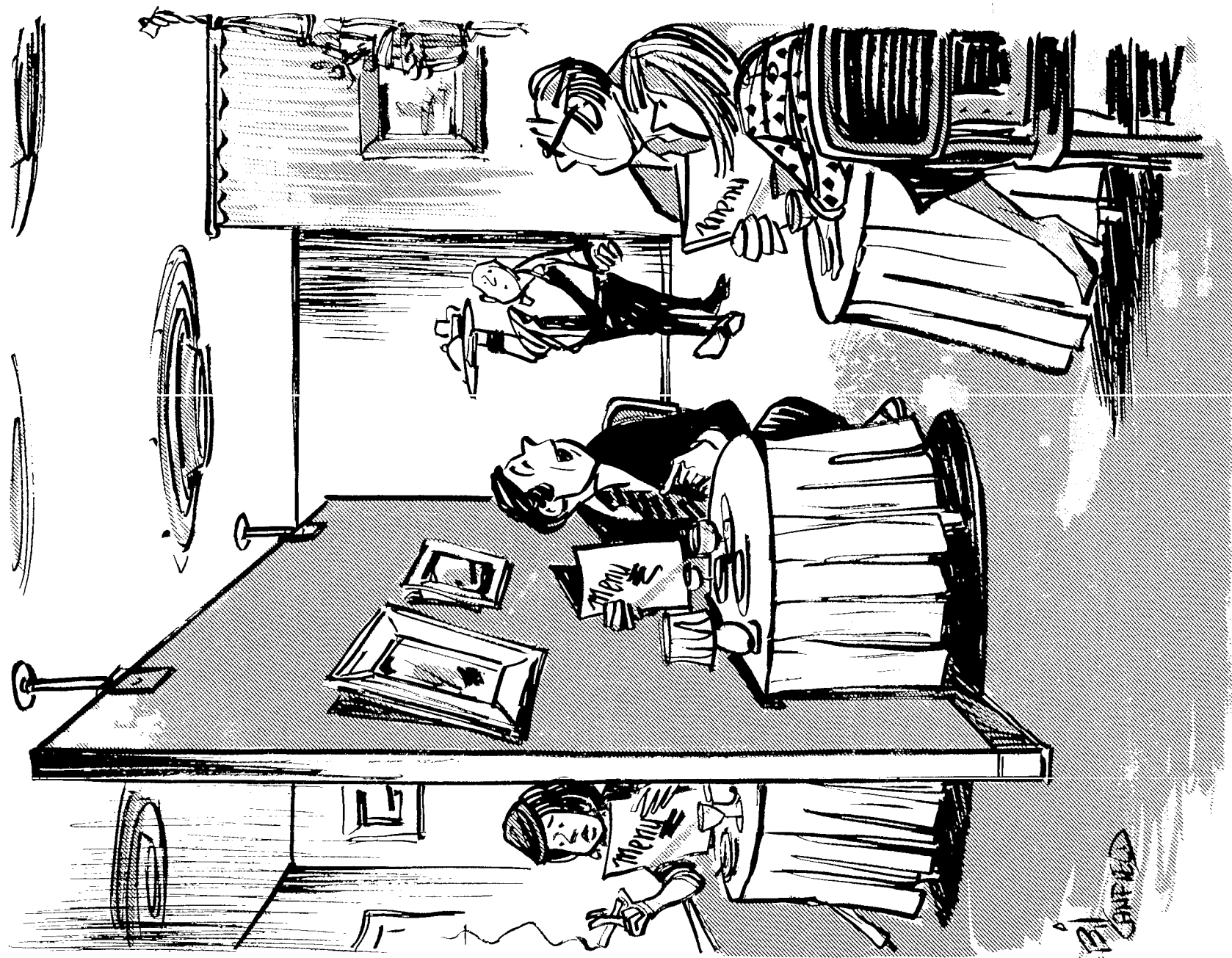


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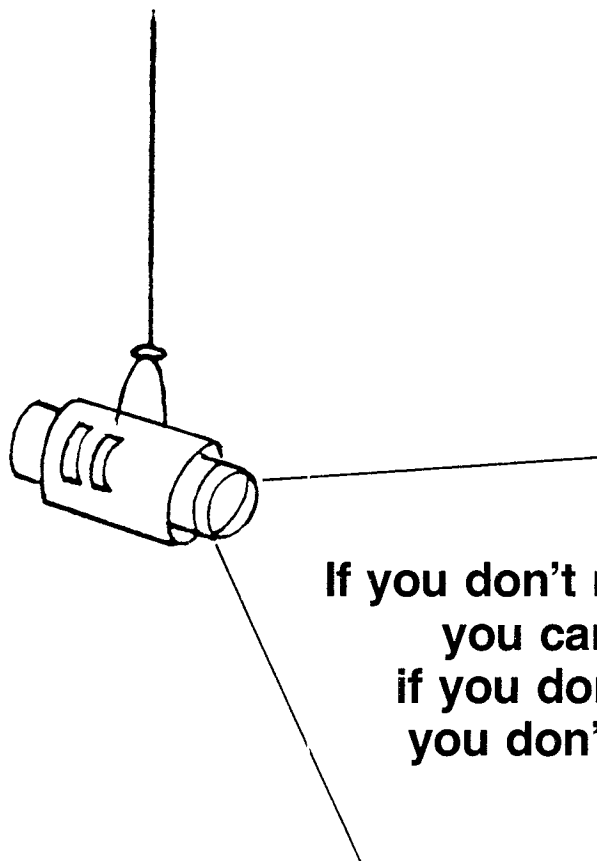
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'MY WIFE? SHE SMOKES!'



2-1/Registering to vote

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**If you don't register,  
you can't vote;  
if you don't vote,  
you don't count.**

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## 2-1/Registering to vote

Philip Morris employees have the right to get involved in helping elect those public officials who best reflect their feelings about national, state, and local issues. They also have the right to vote yes or no on ballot propositions that may affect their lives and jobs. But before you can exercise your right to vote, you must register to vote.

If you don't register, you can't vote;  
if you don't vote, you don't count.

We should all "count," but whether it's time to pick the President of the U.S. or the members of the local school board—those days when it counts the most—we can't be counted unless we're registered.

### Every vote counts

Don't think your vote isn't really all that important. In the course of American history many important elections and issues have been decided by just a few votes—in some cases by just one:

**In 1978, two candidates for a seat in the Pennsylvania State House of Representatives ended up in a dead heat with 8,551 votes each. With each party having exactly 101 seats in the house, the outcome of this race ultimately determined which party gained control of the House and could elect the Speaker.**

In recent years also, more and more elections have been decided by fewer and fewer voters. This means that a minority of voters can outvote a majority that fails to get to the polls and make its opinions known. In this way the minority determines who will make the important decisions that affect our lives and the way our country's business is conducted.

Being registered to vote is important for another reason as well. If you're not registered, your signature doesn't count on a petition that you might want to sign.

### Not planning to vote? Register anyway!

Even if you don't plan to vote in the next election, it's a good idea to take a few minutes to register. In the course of the campaign, as issues are debated, you may decide that you want to vote after all. If you're not registered, there's no way you can vote even if you want to.

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## Voter Involvement Program

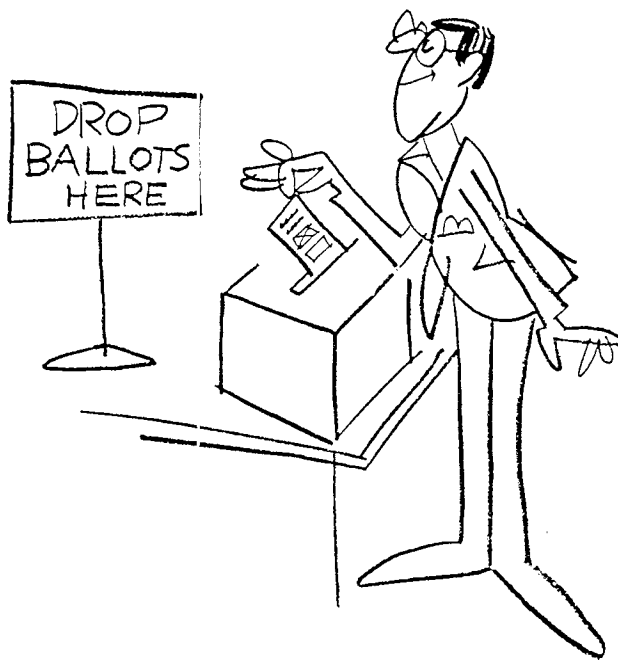
Philip Morris wants you to vote—and we'd like to see all employees actively participate in the political process in other ways too. That's why we developed the Philip Morris Voter Involvement Program (VIP), to:

- Assist employees to register to vote.
- Encourage political participation by employees.
- Provide employees with information on absentee voting and election day procedures.

Our Voter Involvement Program doesn't take sides or push a particular point of view. We want **your** vote to express **your** feelings.

### Do it!

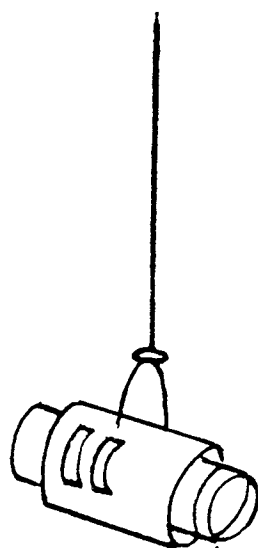
If you're not registered, and would like to do so, contact the local Board of Elections where you live. They'll give you deadlines for registering, and for obtaining and returning absentee ballots if you plan to be out of town on election day.



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2-2/Citizen participation

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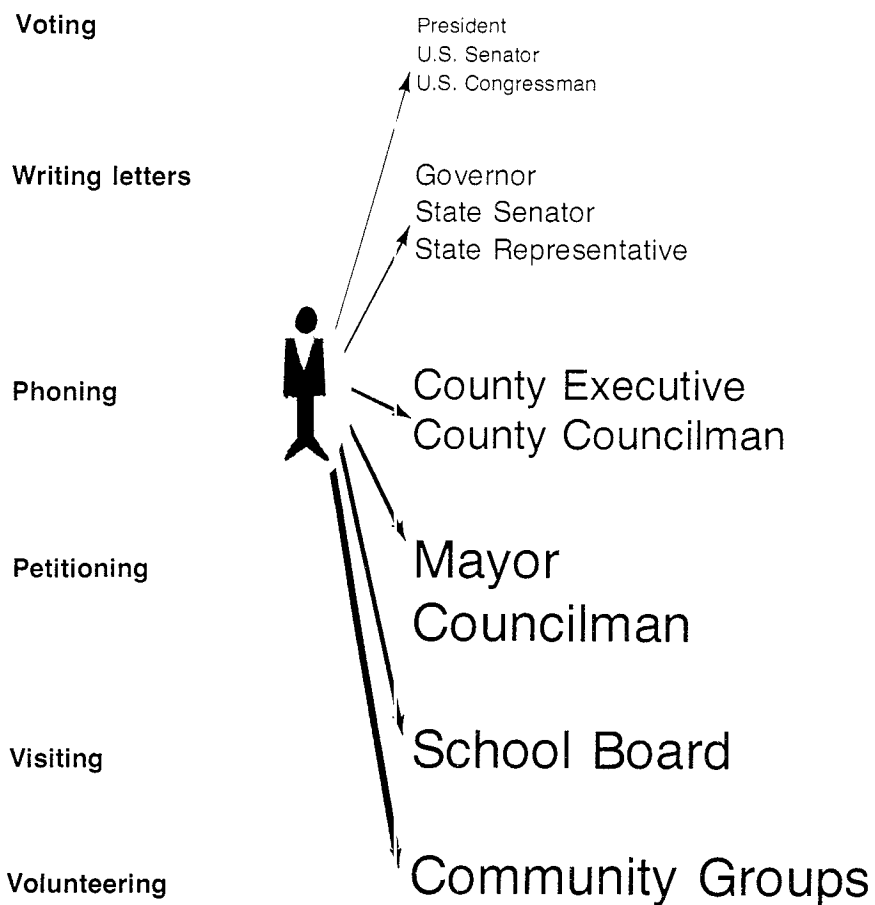


**Lawmakers listen  
and learn from voters.  
It's our job  
to speak to them.**

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## You can affect changes by . . .



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## 2-2/Citizen participation

### Introduction

Following are some key points to keep in mind about your participation in the political process:

- Lawmakers listen and learn from voters. It's our job to speak to them.
- Have confidence in your industry. Don't ever hesitate to speak up for what you believe to be fair—no one else will do it for you.
- As an individual, you *can* make your voice heard by the people who make the laws and run the country. You are heard through your votes, letters, phone calls, petitions, visits to officials, and volunteer work.
- When you speak up, your voice will be heard—at any level of government. The closer to home, the more weight your opinion will carry.

In the balance of this chapter we'll explain some of the ways you can begin taking an active role—ways to make the tobacco industry's voice heard, ways to make your voice heard.

### Communications network

From time to time the Public Affairs Department will receive requests from the TI, TTC, or TAN asking that Philip Morris volunteers take action in support of the tobacco industry.

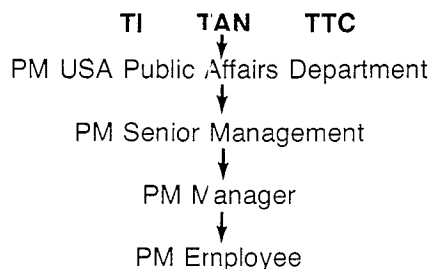
When the help of TAP-TAN volunteers is needed, the Public Affairs Department will start the wheels moving. In many cases, the requested action will involve writing letters or making phone calls to an elected or appointed official, actions that can be done on one's own time. If action is needed during work hours—attending a legislative committee hearing, for example—the request will first be evaluated by the Public Affairs Department. If the issue is considered of sufficient importance, here's what happens:

- Senior management will coordinate all actions to avoid conflict with work schedules. The seriousness of the requested action will be weighed against the priorities of the workforce.
- If senior management agrees, the manager at the appropriate level in the area where action is needed will be notified of the request.
- That manager will then relay the request for volunteers to PM employees in his or her area. (As a PM employee, you will only be asked to volunteer after this procedure has been followed.)

The action request will state the day, date, place, time, and expected length and purpose of the hearing. The request will also clearly indicate what our people can do if they volunteer. In most cases, volunteers will be asked to do nothing more than to attend to show support or opposition for the bill in question.

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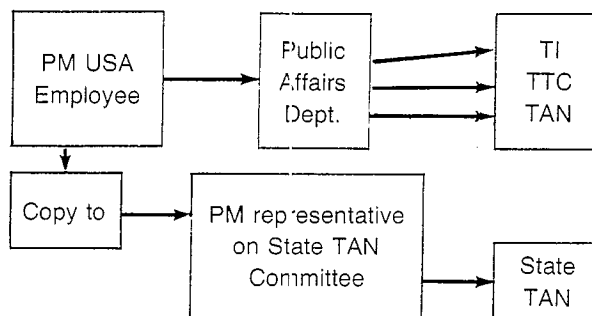
As you can see by this procedure, when volunteer action is requested of a PM employee during work hours, the request will come direct to you from your own management. The following chart illustrates the communications network more graphically:



### Eyes and ears of the industry

Actions by a city council, a county council, or local regulatory commission may take place with little or no prior notice. **It's vital that we be notified so that appropriate action can be taken.** The tobacco industry has full-time paid professionals in the field, but they can't be expected to know everything that's happening. **That's where you can help by volunteering to serve as the eyes and ears of the industry in your area.**

The key to TAP's success is two-way communication. Through issues of the *TAPGRAM* and through other mailings you'll get information about protobacco and antitobacco legislation, regulatory commission rulings, lawsuits, articles, or editorials. In addition, you'll be sending information back to the PM USA Public Affairs Department. (Note: If you live in a state where a TAN chapter has been set up, send a copy of whatever you send to the Public Affairs Department to your PM state TAN Advisory Committee representative (see chapter 2-5).



### Before you run out of envelopes

When your supply of postage-paid envelopes starts to run low, just use one of the remaining envelopes to request more. We'll be happy to send you a new supply.

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## Writing a letter to an elected official

When you feel like writing a letter to an elected official—or an appointed one, for that matter—*do it*. If you'd like help, write to the Public Affairs Department (use one of those postage-paid envelopes from the back of the manual). Remember this, however: to be effective with the official, the letter doesn't have to be slick and polished. It needs only to be a sincere expression of how you feel.

Don't copy someone else's form letter. For maximum punch, write in your own style on your own personal stationery or plain paper. One important fact to remember: 1000 letters cranked out on a mimeograph machine aren't nearly as effective as a half a dozen sincere letters written by concerned individuals.

Follow these suggestions to make your letters more effective:

- Keep each letter brief. Stick to a single subject. If you want to cover two subjects, write two letters.
- Use your own words, your own style. As we said earlier, lawmakers don't respond as favorably to mass-produced form letters.
- Be specific. Use the bill number of any pending legislation. This makes for quick identification with the issue.
- Ask for his position on the bill.
- Address your letters correctly (a how-to guide follows).

## Guide to addressing legislators

(The following are the accepted titles, but be sensitive to the fact that a particular female member of the House of Representatives, for example, may prefer to be called "Congresswoman" or "Congressperson.")



### United States Senator

The Honorable (full name)  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Dear Senator (last name)

### United States Representative

The Honorable (full name)  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515  
Dear Representative (last name)  
or  
Dear Congressman (last name)

### State Senator

The Honorable (full name)  
(state) State Senate  
(Capital City, State, ZIP)  
Dear Senator (last name)

### Mayor

The Honorable (full name)  
Mayor of (city)  
(City, State, ZIP)  
Dear Mayor (last name):

### State Representative

The Honorable (full name)  
(state) House of Representatives  
(Capital City, State, ZIP)  
Dear Representative (last name)  
or  
The Honorable (full name)  
(state) Assembly  
(Capital City, State, ZIP)  
Dear Assemblyman (last name)

### City or County Legislators

Local legislative officials use a variety of titles in different parts of the country. Some examples:  
Dear Freeholder (last name)  
Dear Commissioner (last name)  
Dear Alderman (last name)  
Dear Selectman (last name)  
Dear Councilman (last name)

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## Know your government officials

(If you need assistance identifying any of these officials, write the Public Affairs Department—use a postage-paid envelope from the back of the manual.)

Your Congressional District number \_\_\_\_\_

Your U. S. Representative in Congress \_\_\_\_\_

### State level

Governor \_\_\_\_\_

Lt. Governor \_\_\_\_\_

State Assemblyman \_\_\_\_\_

State Senator \_\_\_\_\_

Speaker of the General Assembly\* \_\_\_\_\_

Majority Leader of the General Assembly \_\_\_\_\_

Minority Leader of the General Assembly \_\_\_\_\_

Majority Leader of the State Senate \_\_\_\_\_

Minority Leader of the State Senate \_\_\_\_\_

Committee Chairmen \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Local level

Mayor or City Manager \_\_\_\_\_

City Council President \_\_\_\_\_

Members of the City Council \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

County Council President\* \_\_\_\_\_

Members of the County Council \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Other local government officials \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\*These titles may differ from state to state.

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## Attending a hearing

When you vote, you have a hand in selecting the person who will represent you. Once elected, a legislator will vote on many issues that have a direct or indirect impact on your job and your life. You can influence the way that legislator votes on those issues.

Before a proposal becomes a law or a regulation, public hearings are often held so that the committee or other body can take the temperature of the concerned people.



One of the easiest and most effective ways to make your influence felt is to attend a hearing. Your attendance can make the difference between success or failure for a legislative proposal.

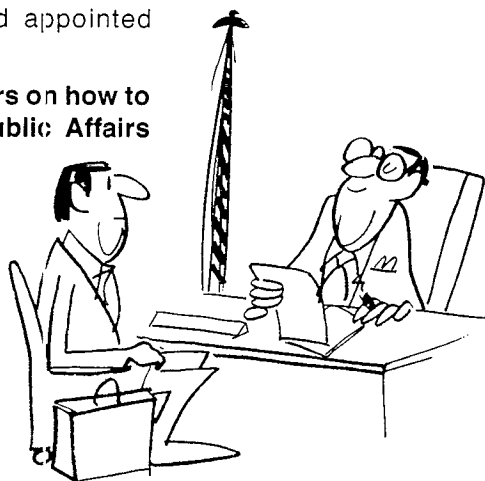
**Most antismoking bills that pass, pass because nobody showed up to oppose them. When we do show up, we often defeat such bills. Occasionally, the Public Affairs Department may ask you to volunteer to attend a hearing in your community. If we do, you'll be given specific instructions well in advance of the hearing and you'll be joined by other members of the tobacco family. As mentioned earlier, in most cases you'll be asked to do no more than just attend. Industry spokespeople will do the testifying.**

Remember, whether writing a letter or attending a hearing, make your views known in committee—before positions have had a chance to harden!

## Visiting your elected officials

As a citizen, you have a right to visit your elected and appointed officials—either as an individual or as a member of a group.

**If you're planning to visit a lawmaker and want some pointers on how to make your visit more effective, get in touch with the Public Affairs Department. We'll be happy to help.**



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### Collecting petitions

One often-used way to express support or opposition to a proposal is to circulate and collect petitions. As a citizen, you may want to sign a petition or even circulate one in your neighborhood. No single name on a petition has the weight of an individual letter or personal visit, but the sum of hundreds and even thousands of names makes a legislator sit up and take notice.

### Giving testimony at a hearing

As a citizen, you have an opportunity to testify at a hearing. In most cases, when we in the tobacco industry want to present our side of the story, we call on an industry spokesperson with some years of experience. **However, if a situation arises and you want to prepare a personal statement, we urge you to call on the Public Affairs Department for help. Nothing can be more damaging to your cause, and ours, than misrepresenting or misinterpreting the facts. The PM USA Public Affairs Department can assist you and ensure that your personal statement is well put together and accurate.**



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## Making phone calls

We all tend to take the phone for granted. However, you can make it one of your most effective tools in helping the industry by making your voice heard.

- A phone call needs no appointment. It gets immediate attention.
- If time is too short to write your legislator, phone. Even if, for some reason, you don't get through direct to your party, you'll get a chance to leave your message.
- Use the phone to call your friends and neighbors to get them involved.
- Phone to pass along news of antitobacco bills pending in your state legislature, or news of similar ordinances pending at the local level.



**Mailgram**



## Mailgrams and telegrams

Your elected official may pay somewhat less attention to a mailgram or telegram than to a personal letter. The telegram serves more as a reminder than as a persuader. Nevertheless, when time is short, that's the way to go. (Western Union gives special rates for personal-opinion messages up to 15 words.)

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2-3/Educating the public

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